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ABSTRACT

This biographical dictionary contains over 200 entries on Greek and Roman rhetoricians. The compilation omits persons who were exclusively performers or composers unless they were also theorists, critics, authors of treatises or textbooks, or teachers of speech. Bibliographical notes are attached to particular biographies rarely and only for special purposes. Generally, the standard biographical compendia and the particular sources relevant to each rhetorician have been drawn upon for the entries. Included in this dictionary are such people as Acylas, Adrian, Antipater, Ariston, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Blandus, Celsus, Chrysippus, Cicero, Cleanthes, Corvus, Crates, Dion, Epicurus, Favorinus, Glycon, Hyperides, Isocrates, Lycon, Lysias, Menecles, Philo, Plato, Sedatus, Theophrastus, and Verginius Flavus. (TS)

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ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN RHETORICIANS

A Biographical Dictionary

COMPILED FOR
The Speech Association of America

BY

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Preface

PREPARATION OF THE ENTRIES WHICH MAKE UP THIS BOOK WAS undertaken initially for a comprehensive Biographical Dictionary of Speech Education projected by The Speech Association of America in 1957. Under the urging of Giles W. Gray of Louisiana State University, the SAA authorized the undertaking, which was to be carried through by a committee consisting of Gray, Douglas Ehninger, and Ruth Renshaw. Gray as general editor appointed associate editors to enlist writers of biographical entries for the various chronological and topical categories. The editor of the present publication, an interested bystander in things Classical, accepted an associate editorship with responsibility for securing proper biographies of persons who had contributed to the theory or pedagogy of public address or had taught rhetoric in the ancient Greek and Roman world.

Gray and his committee established the general coverage of the dictionary, laid down guide lines for the content of the entries, and set a maximum length for major entries (e.g. Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian) at 600 words. The committee decided further that the compilation should omit persons who were exclusively performers or composers—orators, actors, playwrights—but should include all who were theorists, critics, authors of treatises or textbooks, or teachers of speech. Hence the work would include no account of Demosthenes or Pericles, for example, but would include such orator-theorists as Isocrates and Cicero. Gray compiled an initial list of persons probably to be included, but he invited deletions and additions from the sectional editors and the contributors. Responsibility for inclusions and exclusions and for decisions on the relative length of entries, therefore, rests with the editor and his associates.

After eight years of guiding the project, Giles Gray resigned the general editorship to Douglas Ehninger on January 1, 1965. Under Ehninger's advice and prodding the venture moved ahead, and the preparation of materials covering the ancient world was completed. Then for various reasons, Ehninger and the Council of the SAA thought it wise to permit and advise independent publication of autonomous sections. The result is the present publication, which some

day could become part of the larger Dictionary which was originally planned.

The centuries of Classical scholarship of which we are the heirs make new compilations of Greek and Roman biography primarily undertakings in selection and condensation. So this one is. The contributors have made use of the many established sources, both general and particular, both collective and individual, of ancient biographical information and literary, historical, and rhetorical interpretation. Each entry, however, has been newly written for this dictionary, and each exhibits the writer's judgment of the relevance of the individual to the history of the teaching of speech.

Bibliographical notes are attached to particular biographies rarely and only for special purposes. Otherwise it may be assumed that the contributors have drawn upon the standard biographical compendia and upon the particular sources relevant to each rhetorician. A reader may refer to such works for more detail and for specific citation of original sources. A list of the most useful accessible sources of Greek and Roman biography, both primary and secondary, follows below.

In securing qualified contributors who were willing to undertake the necessary labors, the editor was most fortunate. Of those whose names appear on the title-page, Robert W. Smith of the Department of Speech of Alma College, Michigan, provided by far the greatest number of biographies, covering the time from the accession of Augustus to the beginnings of the Middle Ages. Then it was that rhetoricians proliferated as never before or since. Smith secured a limited number of contributions from other scholars, but most of the entries for the time of the Roman Empire are his. Peter D. Arnott of Classics and Drama at the University of Iowa solicited or prepared the entries on the Greek and Roman rhetoricians to 30 B.C. For that period, Erling B. Holtsmark and Galen O. Rowe of the Department of Classics at the University of Iowa are major contributors of entries. In addition they reviewed, verified, and assisted in editing the whole work. The editor gratefully acknowledges his obligation for their generous and expert assistance. Responsibility for particular decisions on form and on inclusion and exclusion, however, is his. Authorship of entries is indicated by

initials at the conclusion of each, and the names and identifications are provided on page ix.

In an absolute sense, we know, this little handbook does not add substantively to the resources available to the specialist in ancient Greek and Roman studies. It should, however, greatly facilitate ready reference. Even the well-equipped specialist may find it inconvenient to have, let us say, the Pauly-Wissowa always at his elbow.

D.C.B.

February 1968

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Cyprian, Diophantus of Arabia, Himerius, Prohaeresius, Sopolis

ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN RHETORICIANS

ACYLAS. Probably lived after Hermogenes in the 3rd century A.D. He wrote on rhetoric and was an accomplished philosopher. His rhetorical writings seem to have been primarily concerned with the doctrine of *status* and to have expanded on Hermogenes' fourteen states by a more comprehensive view of them. RWS

AD HERENNIUM. See *AUCTOR INCERTUS*.

ADRIAN the Phoenician. D. 192 A.D. A teacher who held a chair of rhetoric in Athens and later a more important one at Rome. He studied under Herodes the Athenian, starting perhaps by the age of eighteen. He learned quickly and gained forcefulness, especially in forensic oratory. Once at the Clepsydrium he arose and imitated the style of several sophists, not simply repeating their clichés, but speaking as they did. He omitted Herodes, saying that as his teacher was the prince of eloquence he (Adrian) was unable to mimic so great a speaker even when sober. At Athens, where he replaced Theodotus, he held the chair with ostentation, wearing expensive clothing and precious gems, and traveling to his own lectures in a carriage drawn by horses with silver bridles. His popularity produced imitators of his accent, walk, and elegance of attire. At Rome he lectured in Greek, yet many who could not speak it came to hear him declaim, as did the Senate, which on occasion recessed to listen. Before he died he taught Julius Pollux of Naucratis, Apollonius of Naucratis, Apollonius of Athens, Damianus of Ephesus, Antipater of Hierapolis, Quirinus, and Heraclides. RWS

AESCHINES. Athenian orator of the 4th century B.C. and famous as the opponent of Demosthenes. After an early, and according to Demosthenes, unfortunate career as an actor, he entered politics and became embroiled in the controversy over Athens' policy towards Philip of Macedon. There is no record of his ever having taught rhetoric, or written speeches professionally, though it is likely that he may have done so in the intervals of his theatrical career. In his speeches he

displays a simple but effective vocabulary and a love of poetic quotation; he deprecates the excessive gestures and posturing employed by his rival, advocating instead a more controlled pose.

PDA

AESCHINES of Sphettus (Socraticus). Writer of speeches and philosophical dialogues of the 4th century B.C. One of Socrates' most faithful adherents, he is best known for the dialogues composed in the style of his master. Taught oratory, working both in Athens and at the court of Syracuse.

PDA

AESOPUS. The oldest tradition speaks of Aesopus as a slave from Samos who lived sometime in the 6th century B.C. Presumably since he was said to have been endowed with a clever and ready wit, a large body of fabulistic tales and sayings was gradually collected under his name. Aristotle, speaking of the use to which orators should properly put the fable (*Rhet.* II.20), cites an example from Aesopus; in the schools the fables of Aesopus and others were used as basing points for grammatical and rhetorical exercises.

EBH

ALCIDAMAS of Elea. Greek rhetorician and sophist of the 4th century B.C. A pupil of Gorgias, he continued in the same tradition, emphasizing the importance of improvisation based on wide knowledge. He wrote a pamphlet, extant, *On Those Writing Written Speeches or on the Sophists*; the *Odysseus*, sometimes attributed to him, is probably by another member of the school of Gorgias.

PDA

ALCIMUS ALETHIUS. Fl. mid-4th century A.D. A teacher of rhetoric in Aquitania (Gaul), he was perhaps also a poet of sorts and later an able legal pleader. His brilliance and devotion to learning made him shun ambition. He was one of several teachers of Emperor Julian.

RWS

ALEXANDER NUMENIUS. A mid-2nd-century (A.D.) Greek rhetorician who flourished in the reigns of Hadrian or the Antonines. Nothing is known of his life except that his father also was a rhetor. He wrote a two-volume work on figures which was the basis for Aquila Romanus' work, *De Figuris Sententiarum et Elocutionis*. Perhaps he also authored

a work on panegyric speeches, but its genuineness is disputed. His *Art of Rhetoric* seems to have had a marked anti-Apollo-dorean bias.

RWS

AMEINIAS. Fl. early 4th century A.D. Was the father of Himerius. He instructed in the art of public discourse in Prusa.

RWS

ANAXAGORAS of Clazomenae. Greek philosopher of the 5th century B.C., tutor and friend of Pericles. Prosecuted for impiety sometime around 450, he fled to Lampsacus and there founded a school. Chiefly famous for his scientific speculations, he also taught rhetoric, and is credited with having a major influence on Pericles' style.

FDA

ANAXIMENES of Lampsacus. Greek historian and rhetorician of the 4th century B.C., pupil of Zoilus and instructor of Alexander. Author of several works of contemporary history and of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, formerly attributed to Aristotle, the sole surviving manual of early sophistic rhetoric.

FDA

ANDOCIDES B. ca. 440 B.C. One of the ten Attic orators in the Alexandrian Canon. Three speeches, *On the Mysteries*, *On His Return*, and *On A Peace with the Lacedaemonians*, have survived. A fourth, *Against Alcibiades*, attributed to him is not regarded as authentic. Andocides' speeches reveal him as an orator of modest ability and slight training.

GOR

ANDRONICUS. Greek actor of the 4th century B.C., one of several reputed to have instructed Demosthenes in rhetoric. See also NEOPTOLEMUS, POLUS, SATYRUS.

FDA

ANINIUS MACER. Greek tutor of Marcus Aurelius, but functioned more as an orator than as a teacher of rhetoric.

RWS

ANTIDORUS of Cyme. Greek scholar of the 4th century B.C., author of a treatise on *lexis*, possibly a work on style.

FDA

ANTIPATER the Sophist. Lived ca. 144-212 A.D. Son of Zeuxidimus, he was born in Hierapolis (Syria). He studied under Adrian and Pollux and one Zeno, but patterned his speech mostly after Pollux. More a practitioner of speech and a letter-writer than theorist or teacher, he served as governor of Bithynia after successfully filling an appointment as private Imperial Secretary to Emperor Severus. Though highly esteemed by the Emperor for a time—Antipater wrote a chronicle of Severus' exploits and was entrusted with the education of two princes, Caracalla and Geta—the rhetorician later fell into disrepute and from remorse and chagrin reportedly starved himself to death ca. 212. Among his pupils was Flavius Philostratus, author of the *Lives of the Sophists*.

RWS

ANTIPHON. Lived ca. 448-411 B.C. Athenian rhetorician and orator. He is said to have opened a school of oratory in Athens because of his interest in systematizing the rules of effective speaking and to have written a textbook on public speaking. An opponent of democratic government, he gave his skill to the aristocratic party and was influential in the brief establishment of the Council of the 400, in 411 B.C. Upon the downfall of the Council in the same year, he faced the court on a charge of treason and delivered a speech which was declared by Thucydides to be the most brilliant defense ever made. It was, however, unsuccessful, and Antiphon was executed. Credited traditionally with being the first professional speechwriter, Antiphon prepared speeches for clients to use in the courts and in the assembly. Fifteen of his speeches survive along with fragments of others. Twelve are speaking exercises divided into three tetralogies of four speeches each—two for the prosecution and two for the defense; three of the fifteen are based on actual legal cases. All deal with cases of murder. Antiphon is credited with establishing an Attic style in prose. He favored the periodic sentence, employed antithesis of both word and thought, and shunned colloquialisms. In speech structure, he created a standard pattern embracing an introduction, background to the case, facts of the case, argument and supporting proof and evidence, and a conclusion.

AA

ANTONIUS, MARCUS (the Elder). Endowed with a great natural talent fostered by diligent self-discipline and eager devotion to oratorical practice, Antonius (143-87 B.C.), a grandfather of the triumvir, and his equally famous younger contemporary Licinius Crassus dominated the forum in the period of Sulla and Marius. Even in his youth Antonius began to acquire a reputation as a formidable prosecutor, and combining sharpness of intellect with a keen ability for logical exposition he commanded greater force and persuasiveness in judicial than in deliberative oratory. On his way to the province of Cilicia as praetor (102 B.C.) he briefly attended lectures of Greek rhetoricians and philosophers at Athens. Cicero speaks of his phenomenal memory, his clever vocal modulations, and the excited gesturing that accompanied his delivery, but admits that his style, not distinguished by ornament or charm, was inferior to that of Crassus. Moreover, Cicero reports that though Antonius gave the impression of not having prepared his speeches in advance, he was in fact extremely well prepared; eloquence, he felt, should not be obvious. The claim that he favored the practice over the theory of oratory seems to find confirmation in the notice of Quintilian that even in the latter's day only one theoretical treatise of Antonius survived, and that incomplete. Politically of the Optimate persuasion, Antonius fell victim to the sword of one of Marius' tribunes and, as with Cicero almost half a century later, "on the very rostrum from which he had, as consul, so often defended the state his head was placed, by whom the heads of so many were saved." (Cicero *de Orat.* III.10)

EBH

APHTHONIUS of Antioch. A Greek rhetorician, fl. ca. 400 A.D., who is known primarily for his *Progymnasmata*, fourteen exercises in composition ranging from the simple fable to the relatively difficult proposal of a law. Each exercise consists of an explanation of the type and one model of it.

Aphthonius' exercises were used in the schools of the Western World down to the 17th century. They are often compared with the twelve similar exercises of Hermogenes of Tarsus on whose work that of Aphthonius is apparently based. (Hermogenes' text contains no examples.) See Ray Nadeau, "The Progymnasmata of Aphthonius in Translation," *Speech Monographs*, XIX (1952), 264-85.

RN

APOLLINARIS. Teacher of rhetoric and bishop of Laodicea (362 A.D.). Aside from knowing Laodicea as his birthplace, we have learned nothing of his early life except that both he and his father (same name) were friends of Libanius and Epiphanius. For attending lectures of the latter sophist both father and son were excommunicated from the church, probably by Theodotus. Later, upon their repentance, they were restored. When Emperor Julian (362) forbade Christians to study or teach Greek literature, both father and son sought to fill the gap by couching the scriptures in Homeric verse and Platonic dialogues. The son, the rhetorician, probably handled the New Testament. Julian's edict actually increased the popularity of both men, as Christians now came to them for private instruction. The importance of the work, however, was short-lived, for when it became apparent that the law had failed, their writings retained little of functional value.

The younger Apollinaris founded a sect called Apollinarists. He died sometime between 383 and 392. RWS

APOLLODORUS of Pergamum. Lived ca. 105-23 B.C. A rhetorical teacher of many famous personages, including Augustus, Dionysius Atticus, Brutteditus Niger, and Valgius Rufus. Though born in Pergamum (Asia Minor), he taught rhetoric in Apollonia and Rome; in the latter place he and his school were arch rivals of Theodorus of Gadara.

Like Hermagoras, to whom he was indebted, Apollodorus confined himself to forensic oratory, setting down precepts for the pleader. Quintilian (II.xv.12) criticized his definition of rhetoric—"to persuade the judge and lead him to desired conclusions of the speaker"—as too limited, for thus Apollodorus made success the *sine qua non* of speaking.

In his approach to rhetoric as a science, rather than an art, he had considerable to say concerning *dispositio*. First, his disciples and probably he also, insisted that every speech must have four parts and they must always appear in the order of exordium, narration, proof, and peroration. The rival Theodoreans, less rigid and viewing rhetoric as an art, argued that any of these, except proofs, might be omitted at times, or the order of parts changed. Second, Apollodorus maintained that the speaker should instruct the court in the facts of the case before employing any emotional appeals.

Quintilian (V.xiii.59) and others thought circumstances might dictate the best approach. The system, thus, lacked flexibility. Perhaps for this reason Tacitus (*Dialog. de Orat.*, xix) spoke of its dryness, although he acknowledged that Apollodorus attracted a wide following.

Like many of his contemporaries, Apollodorus wrestled with the concept of *status* and came up with a two-part division, simpler than that of his rival Theodorus: the first dealt with facts and the second with opinion. The latter was subdivided into (a) questions dealing with quality and (b) those dealing with definition.

It was at an advanced age that he taught the young Octavian.

RWS

APOLLONIUS of Athens. Fl. late 2nd-early 3rd centuries A.D. He studied under Adrian whom he imperfectly imitated. He was appointed by Emperor Septimius Severus to the municipal chair of political oratory at Athens at a salary of one talent per year. A contemporary of Apollonius of Naucratis and Heracleides, both of whom he rivalled, he distinguished himself not only as a rhetorical teacher and sophist but as a statesman and diplomat as well. Dignified, well-dressed, and an able pleader, he, like other notable rhetoricians of the Second Sophistic, represented the emperor on embassies of great importance. His declamations, excelling in dignity, often were vehement and rhythmical. He died at age seventy-five.

RWS

APOLLONIUS of Naucratis. Fl. late 2nd century A.D. Born in North Africa but later migrated to Athens where, as a teacher of rhetoric, he rivalled Apollonius of Athens and Heracleides of Lycia when the latter held the Athenian chair of rhetoric. So intense was his jealousy of Heracleides that Apollonius, with the assistance of others, succeeded in expelling him from his teaching position. A student under Adrian and Chrestus of Byzantium, he was more a practitioner than a teacher-theorist, devoting much of his life to preparing political speeches of a restrained type. It is for these he is best known. Though living to the age of seventy, he led a dissolute life. His most zealous disciple was Marcianus of Doliche.

RWS

APOLLONIUS MALACUS. Lived 2nd-1st century B.C. From Alabanda, he is sometimes confused with Apollonius Molon, some years Malacus' junior. He left Alabanda, sojourning in Rhodes where he established a school of rhetoric and distinguished himself as a teacher. Scaevola (121 B.C.) and M. Antonius (98 B.C.) visited his school. A teacher of spoken discourse who took his work seriously, he would dismiss pupils found to have no talent, advising them to apply themselves to tasks for which they were better fitted. Like Molon, he studied under Menecles, the famous orator. Cicero highly regarded him, notwithstanding Malacus' cynicism and disdain of philosophy. As a teacher he believed strongly in referring students to the writings of accepted models to develop their styles. He was himself said to be particularly effective in epilogues.

RWS

APOLLONIUS MOLON of Alabanda. A distinguished teacher of rhetoric of the 1st century B.C. on the island of Rhodes, his eminence in public address caused him to be selected as ambassador to Rome on two occasions. As a teacher, Apollonius emphasized exercises in declamation in which he paid close attention to both composition and delivery. So skilled was he in discovering the faults and weaknesses in delivery that he was eagerly sought out by prominent Romans, among whom were Cicero and Julius Caesar. The titles of two speeches, *Against the Caunians* and *On the Tribute of the Rhodians*, have been handed down. He also wrote an *Art of Rhetoric*, probably based on the teachings of Hermagoras and Athenaeus, and used it in his instruction. Apollonius fought against the frivolity and affectation of the extreme Asianists and advocated a pointed, sententious style. In accordance with the Rhodian practice of combining the functions of the rhetorician and grammarian, Apollonius interpreted Homer. He also composed a polemic against the Jews and a tract *Against Philosophers*. He is known also as Molo of Rhodes, *q.v.*

EBH

APSINES of Gadara. Lived ca. 190-250 A.D. He was author of the last ancient Greek rhetorical treatise to come to us in anything like complete form. He studied with the Sophist Heraclides and with Basilicus (whom he calls "divine") in Asia Minor, migrated to Athens ca. 225, and gained con-

siderable renown there through his teaching, becoming honorary "Consul" in the reign of Maximinus (235-238). His *Techne* was treated posthumously by his students to many editorial liberties: transposing, expanding, and shortening of the genuine text, and importing into it of many passages from the model speeches which he had used in his school to illustrate and implement rhetorical theory. Unfortunately, these samples of Apsines' own practice are not always found in what we should think their appropriate place. Consequently, the editorial preoccupations or caprices of his successors often dictate what we can learn of Apsines' rhetorical doctrines.

If we may judge from the received text, his teaching concentrated on the *topoi* or commonplaces of argumentation in judicial and deliberative speeches. There were perhaps ten chapters, which agree roughly in their titles with the recognized parts of a speech, but they largely avoid Arrangement as a distinct subject of study, and are devoted almost exclusively to the tactical exploitation of each place in a speech. Some chapters say little that is new or controversial; on the other hand, there are chapters of very great interest. For example, Ch. 2, On the Preliminary Narration, with some skill and apt employment of Classical models, discusses the imputation of base intent to one's opponent and the insinuation of one's own nobler motives. Apsines gives special attention, as well, to tactics or "principles," which he characterizes with such striking differences as "Injured Tone," "Deprecation," and "Respected Judgment." His main interest, then, is in methods of establishing a line of argument in any given legal case. And he handles this aspect of rhetorical education with a breezy assurance, invading all of Classical literature for supporting illustrations or quotations. For the most part, he owes his technical vocabulary to Hermogenes, although he has some private usages. Nevertheless it has been argued (by Volkmann and Graeven) that his *doctrine* bears little resemblance to that of Hermogenes. Probably the sections most rewarding for contemporary study are those concerned with various kinds of Refutation (Chs. 4,5,7). Of his other works, all are lost except a garbled remnant dealing with cases wherein the pleader seeks to gain his objective by pretending to desire something quite the opposite. Although surely not a first-rate mind, Apsines repays our attention with a certain

shrewdness and ingenuous confidence, in an age frequently dismissed as decadent and intellectually listless.

English translation: D. J. Stewart, *Apsines' Art of Rhetoric* (Unpublished thesis; Cornell University, 1959).

DJS

APSINES of Lacedaemon. Fl. first half of the 4th century A.D. He taught rhetoric at Athens and won fame by his writings on the subject. Enmity between his school and that of Julianus grew to such dangerous proportions that Athens was split and the Roman proconsul was called upon to suppress it.

RWS

APULEIUS (APPULEIUS), LUCIUS. Born ca. 125 A.D. in Madauros (Africa), he was a well-to-do philosopher and professor of rhetoric in Carthage. He studied rhetoric and grammar in Carthage and Athens and served as solicitor at Rome for a while. Later his travels returned him to Africa where at Oea he fell ill (ca. 155) and met a wealthy widow whom he married. At Sabrata he defended himself eloquently and successfully against her relatives who sued to annul the union (on grounds he had won her love by magic), but he departed for more congenial surroundings at Carthage where he enjoyed considerable prestige as a rhetorician. Two statues were erected in his honor at Carthage and Madauros.

Most important to rhetoric is his *Florida*, an anthology containing fragments of his speeches and declamations, rich in sophistic themes. He is best known in literature for the satire, *The Golden Ass*, which contains the famous story of Cupid and Psyche.

RWS

AQUILA ROMANUS. A late 3rd-century (A.D.) author of an extant work, *On Figures of Thoughts and Diction*. Martianus Capella borrowed much from it when writing his own *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*. The figures, placed in lexical form (but not alphabetized), deal with such common devices of the Second Sophistic as introductory apology, quibbling, personification, delineation of character, silence as used for emphasis or modesty, hurried accumulation of several questions or points, irony, paralipsis, apostrophe, and perplexity.

RWS

ARBORIUS, AEMILIUS MAGNUS. A late 3rd- and early 4th-century (A.D.) teacher at Toulouse. His professional fame spread throughout Europe, bringing him an appointment to instruct one of the Caesars, probably Constantine in Constantinople. Eloquent and quick-witted, he was preceptor of his nephew Ausonius. Wed to a comely woman of noble birth, he died childless in Constantinople and was interred in his native Gaul.

RWS

ARCHIAS of Thurii. Greek actor and politician of the 4th century B.C., active in the pro-Macedonian party and captor of Demosthenes. According to one account he taught the great tragic actor Polus.

PDA

ARCHIDEMUS of Tarsus. A teacher of rhetoric probably in the 2nd century B.C. at Tarsus. He antedated Demetrius (*On Style*), who was indebted to him for some basic stylistic theory. His own work was apparently devoted to a study of Aristotle's discussions of periodic structure in Book III of the *Rhetoric*, as well as to the doctrine of *status*.

RWS

ARISTIDES, P. AELIUS. Lived ca. 117-87 A.D. Son of Eudaemon, a priest, he was born at Hadrini (Mysia) and educated at Athens and Pergamum. Though in poor health as a lad, he studied the ancients assiduously under Aristocles of Pergamum, Polemon of Smyrna, and Alexander of Cotyaeium so that his style in speaking was strongly influenced by Demosthenes, Isocrates, and others. He spoke before Emperor M. Aurelius (who respected him) and was instrumental in getting Smyrna rebuilt with state funds after the earthquakes (178). In return the citizens erected a bronze statue in his honor in the marketplace. As a speaker, he valued content and ideas more than most of his contemporaries; he despised silliness and striving after effect, yet his orations indicate that he liked to hear himself talk. Perhaps his unpopularity as a teacher is partially explained by his impatience with unappreciative audiences. Toward the close of his life he contracted a nervous and muscular disorder akin to, if not identical with, Parkinson's disease from which he never recovered. In the 4th century Libanius was his imitator.

Several of his works survive, including fifty-five orations (studied centuries later in medieval schools), a treatise on

political speaking, and another on unaffected speaking. The first treatise discusses such matters as dignity, diction, trustworthiness, vehemence, emphasis, shrewdness, diligence, pleasantness, and clearness and perspicuity. The second deals with dignity, diction, pleasantness, beauty, trustworthiness, arrangement, power, and interpretation. Four speeches serve as convenient means of praising rhetoric, with the first two seeking to answer Plato's attack on rhetoric in the *Gorgias*.

RWS

ARISTOCLES of Pergamum. Fl. 2nd century A.D. Converted from Peripatetic philosophy to sophistic rhetoric, he studied under Herodes Atticus and later lectured in Ionia and Italy in addition to teaching oratory in Pergamum where he enjoyed a great reputation. At Pergamum he abandoned those earlier slovenly habits inspired by his philosophical pursuits. He developed a lucid Attic style. On at least one occasion, he taught all the students of Herodes, who admired the ability of their teacher's former student. In addition to writing declamations and letters he also wrote an *Art of Rhetoric* in five books, but none has come down to us. Perhaps identical with the consul of the same name and era, he died at an advanced age. Among his regular pupils he numbered Athenodorus, Eurodianus of Smyrna, Rufus of Perinthus, Aelius Aristides, and Heracleides.

RWS

ARISTOCLES of Rhodes. Lived 1st century B.C. He was called a rhetorician since the Rhodians did not distinguish the function of rhetoricians from that of grammarians. His activity lay mainly in the realm of philology and poetics. An edition of a lexicon to Hippocrates and a treatise, *On Dialects*, are attributed to him. Another work, *On Poetry*, was probably concerned with defining the separate genres of poetry.

EBH

ARISTODEMUS of Nysa. Fl. 1st century B.C. He was the son of Menecrates (who was a pupil of Aristarchus), taught rhetoric and directed two rhetorical schools, one on Rhodes and the other in his native land. He taught grammar to the children of Pompey the Great, and later (50-40 B.C.) at an advanced age he taught rhetoric to Strabo, the geographer. His daily schedule called for teaching rhetoric in the morning and grammar in the evening, until he went to Rome where

he taught grammar only. He should not be confused with his senior namesake.

RWS

ARISTON of Alaea. Of uncertain date, though antecedent to Diongenes Laertius who wrote of him, he was a Greek rhetorician who wrote scientific treatises on rhetoric.

RWS

ARISTON of Ceos. Fl. ca. 225 B.C. A Peripatetic philosopher of minor importance. From scattered references it appears that he had great skill as a stylist, his writings (no longer extant) having been characterized as boldly antithetical, witty, and rich in both metaphors and citations. Extrapolating from a brief notice in Cicero (*de Sen.* 3), we may assume that his literary activity included dialogues in which a mythological character was a prominent speaker. He may have been the author of an eristic tract entitled *Against the Rhetoricians*, or *Reply to the Rhetoricians*.

RWS

ARISTON of Cos. Fl. 3rd-2nd centuries, B.C. He was a disciple of the Peripatetic Critolaus. His definition of rhetoric as the science of seeing and proceeding, in political questions, by means of a speech designed to persuade the multitude is criticised by Quintilian as too narrow on the grounds that (1) such a concept made it a science and not an art; and (2) it implied that rhetoric was a tool for the masses and not for the learned.

RWS

ARISTON of Gerasa. A Greek rhetorician of ancient times though of uncertain date.

RWS

ARISTOPHANES. Writer of the Greek Old Comedy, 5th and early 4th century B.C. In his examination, for comic purposes, of the foibles of public and private life, he finds many things to say about the sophists, and particularly their employment of rhetoric. In *The Clouds* (423 B.C.) sophistic argument is roundly condemned, particularly the idea of making "the worse cause appear the better," and similar attacks are made elsewhere in his work. It is important to recognize, however, that Aristophanes is free to distort for comic values, and that his criticisms do not always offer an accurate picture of contemporary studies.

PDA

ARISTOPHANES of Byzantium. Born 257 B.C. in Byzantium, Aristophanes was among the most distinguished of the ancient Hellenistic scholars associated with the great Alexandrian library. A student of such intellectual luminaries as Callimachus, Eratosthenes, and Zenodotus, he was in turn to instruct the renowned critic Aristarchus; the latter's authoritative edition of Homer outshone even Aristophanes' considerable efforts in the cause of Homeric scholarship (the work of both men laid to a large extent the foundation for Homeric textual criticism in the modern era). For Aristophanes himself edited a critical text of Homer, as well as devoting his energies to the textual study of Hesiod, the lyric poets, the Attic dramatists, and Menander the comic poet. He was apparently the first of the Alexandrian critics to approach the study of the poets not only with the traditional philological bias, but also from an aesthetic view-point. Even if his contributions as 'grammarians' (i.e., linguistic and textual studies) and literary critic had not been of such notable quality, his reputation would have been assured of immortality alone by his enormous productivity as a lexicographer; indeed, one may fairly assert that Aristophanes posited the methodological guide lines for all subsequent lexicographical activity. He here concerned himself primarily with the exact meanings of words, archaisms, synonym studies, and dialectal differences between words. The range of his citations eloquently bespoke both the man's extensive reading of the classical authors and his tremendous erudition. At an advanced age he became chief librarian at Alexandria, a post which he administered until his death in 180 B.C.

EBH

ARISTOTLE. B. 384 B.C. at Stagira in Thrace; d. 322 at Chalcis in Euboea. His early life seems to have been spent among the court associates of King Amyntas of Macedon, to whom his father was physician. He went to Athens, possibly at the age of eighteen, and studied with Plato until his master died about 348. For the next twelve years he studied and taught at the court of the tyrant, Hermias, in Assos, and finally at the court of Philip of Macedon where he became tutor and friend of Alexander, Philip's son. Returning to Athens in 335, he set up a school and research center in the grove of the Lyceum. Tradition says that in the mornings he lectured

on philosophy and on the logic and methodologies of the sciences, in the afternoons on ethics, politics, and rhetoric. Aristotle's sponsor, King Alexander, died in 323, whereupon strong anti-Macedonian feeling drove the teacher to Chalcis. Twice married, he was a kindly husband and father. His early life and his study with Plato led to deep interests in investigating natural phenomena directly and in methods of understanding human thought, behavior, and communication through the analysis of man's language behavior. As a philosopher he was speculative and theoretical; as a man he was politically minded; as a communicator—if we may judge from extant fragments of his early "dialogues"—he was a polished writer and an "eloquent" speaker.

Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, foreshadowed by Plato's suggestions in the *Phaedrus* for an ideal art of communication, has been called the first and last rhetoric, so thorough and philosophical it is. Like all of Aristotle's works in the Oxford edition, its content reflects composition at different times and places, some of it probably representing the teacher's lecture notes. As an art, rhetoric is viewed as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion." In its persuasive role, it is directed to the influencing of men's belief and conduct and its methods are those that locate the sources of argument (enthymemes and examples) and style in the subject matter of the speech, in the *ethos* or character of the speaker, and in the opinions and emotions of the audience. Books I and II of the *Rhetoric* are essentially a textbook of invention, a survey of the resources of popular argument as distinguished from learned argument, which Aristotle surveys in his *Topics* where he is concerned with the art of dialectic. Book III deals at length with the style and structure of practical discourse, in which is revealed some relationships of rhetoric to the *Poetics*, Aristotle's treatise on literature and tragedy. Delivery (*pronuntiatio*) is treated curtly. Memory is thoroughly discussed in a work of its own, *De Memoria*.

As an art, i.e., a subject of systematic study, rhetoric is philosophical. In keeping with politics and ethics, it studies men's characters, emotions, and values and what men think and believe about good and evil, happiness and virtue, the noble and the base, justice and injustice. Thus politics, ethics, and rhetoric have a common stake in such matters,

the first two studies viewing values scientifically, rhetoric viewing them as they are reflected in popular opinion. In keeping with "logic" (as seen in Aristotle's treatment of the categories of thought, of the interpretation of language, and of the syllogism) and with scientific demonstration (as seen in the *Posterior Analytics*), rhetoric is concerned with truth and the logical mode of proof. Its level of truth, however, is typically that of the probable and contingent, not that of the universal and certain. In this respect rhetoric is like dialectic. Hence politically and socially rhetoric and dialectic help men judge the probabilities presented whenever they must choose among alternative possibilities for belief and action. Consistent with his point of view, the *Rhetoric* recognizes three genres of discourse: deliberative, forensic, and epideictic. In the *Topics*, Aristotle names a fourth genre, didactic discourse.

KRW

ARNOBIUS of Sicca. Lived ca. 253-ca. 320 A.D. Fl. under Diocletian and perhaps Constantine the Great. He taught rhetoric at Sicca (North Africa), where among his pupils was Lactantius. Jerome heard him lecture and later called him a most successful teacher. Disgusted with the foul and lustful atmosphere at Sicca, he forsook polytheism and was converted to Christianity (ca. 303), but his baptism was withheld until he proved himself. Shortly after his conversion he wrote seven books against paganism (*Libri Septem Adversus Gentes* or *Adversus Nationes*), extant, in which with ability he proved polytheism irreconcilable with good sense and reason. He probably died a martyr.

RWS

ASCONIUS PEDIANUS, Q. Probably of Patavia. Lived in the first three quarters of the first century A.D. His commentary, the *Explanatio in Ciceronis Orationes*, written A.D. 54-57, dealt with Cicero's speeches concerning Verres, Piso, Scaurus, Milo, and Cornelius. It is his sole literary effort to survive. It differs from the grammatical-rhetorical tendencies of the most accepted Latin schools in its focus on an historical approach and its lack of a critical analysis based on meaningful canons. It shows familiarity with even Cicero's unpublished works. Quintilian makes two passing references to Pedianus.

A ninth-century manuscript of the work has been found at St. Gall. Paul Manutius, Aldus' son, published Pedianus' work in 1563—the last of four editions printed by Aldus.

RWS

ASPASIUS (ASPANSIUS) of Ravenna. Third century A.D. He was started in the literary world by his father, Demetrianus, who taught him. After leaving home he studied rhetoric under Pausanias in Rome and Hippodromus the Thesalian. An extended professional quarrel with Philostratus of Lemnos forced him into extemporaneous speaking, a discipline for which he lacked natural ability. But by hard work he developed a style which, while lacking vigor and amplification, was notably accurate and simple. He traveled widely, sometimes with the Emperor (probably Alexander Severus, since Aspasius served as his imperial secretary) and with great ability held the envied chair of rhetoric at Rome ca. 229 or shortly thereafter. He remained in the chair perhaps too long, for in later life some criticized him for not stepping down in favor of another. He was still living when Philostratus wrote his sketch in the *Lives*. His orations have not survived.

RWS

ASPASIUS of Byblus. A mid-2nd-century (A.D.) rhetorical theorist and sophist who wrote on Demosthenes and Aeschines. Among his rhetorical works, of which only fragments have come down to us, is one dealing with figurative *status* and another with declamatory exercises; a third appears to have been an Art of Rhetoric, and finally there was a commentary and encomium on Hadrian.

RWS

ASPASIUS of Tyre. A Greek teacher of rhetoric and historian of uncertain date. He wrote on various topics, but among his rhetorical works, says Suidas, was an Art of Rhetoric.

RWS

ASTERIUS of Cappadocia. Began his professional career as a pagan teacher of rhetoric, 3rd-4th century A.D. Following his conversion to Christianity, he forsook his earlier vocation. Later he seems to have relapsed under the severe persecution of Maximianus (ca. 305) and never again regained ecclesiastical honors. Nothing is known of his life as a teacher or of his rhetorical views, though as a mild disciple of Arianism, he

wrote biblical commentaries. Athanasius quotes his religious views but not his rhetorical theory. If not before, at least following his conversion to Christianity, he was more a philosopher than a teacher of oratory. RWS

ATEIUS, L. A 1st century (B.C.) freedman born at Athens but lived most of his life in Rome where he was manumitted. A student of Antonius Gniphio and Laelius Hermas, he worked in Rome as a rhetor and grammarian. Because of his encyclopedic interests—some ancients credited him with having written 800 books—he assumed the name Philologus. Suetonius had high praise for his vast learning. Teacher of declamation, he was spoken of as a rhetorician among grammarians and a grammarian among rhetoricians. RWS

ATHENAEUS of Naucratis. A 2nd-century (B.C.) rhetorical theorist and a contemporary and opponent of Hermagoras of Temnos, he saw four *status*: the hortative (for deliberative themes), the conjectural, the definitive, and judicial—the last three most adaptable to court proceedings. Quintilian objects to Athenaeus' conception of the canons of rhetoric as "elements," believing they are much more than that (III.iii.13). RWS

ATHENODORUS of Aenus in Thrace. A 2nd-century (A.D.) contemporary of Julius Pollux in Athens, where both taught. He studied under Aristocles of Pergamum and Chrestus, developing into a serious and noble teacher whose rhetorical style was a compromise between Attic and Asiatic. He died in early manhood. RWS

ATHENODORUS of Rhodes. A Greek rhetorical teacher antecedent to Quintilian who mentions him. His sole claim to rhetorical fame is that he denied that rhetoric is part of politics and logic. RWS

AUCTOR INCERTUS (*AD HERENNIIUM*). From the time of St. Jerome (d. 420 A.D.) the Latin rhetorical treatise known as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* had been considered a work of the youthful Cicero, until the Italian Renaissance scholar Valla in the middle of the 15th century first questioned the accuracy of the ascription. Subsequent speculation,

relying among other things on stylistic criteria and comparison with the contemporary *De Inventione* of Cicero, on the authorship of the work has resulted in general agreement that the writer must remain *incertus* (unknown); although some modern scholars, notably the German W. Kroll, have seen reason to assign the work to one Cornificius, the theory has by no means won universal acceptance (for a fuller discussion of this problem, as well as that of the work's relationship to the *De Inventione*, see the Introduction by H. Caplan in the Loeb Library edition, 1954). The *Ad Herennium* itself, dated to the period 86-82 B.C., is the oldest complete 'art' in Latin extant. Its main emphasis is on the treatment of *inventio* (invention) and *elocutio* (style), but the orator's three other traditional *officia* (functions, duties), namely *dispositio* (arrangement), *memoria* (memory), and *actio* (delivery), are also discussed. As a whole this systematic and precise work is indebted to the rhetorical teachings of the Hellenistic schools, although the author at times displays impatience with aspects of the Greek systems to which he is heir. Our title (*Ad Herennium*), not the original one, derives from the fact that the work is dedicated to one Gaius Herennius.

EBH

AUGUSTINE, AURELIUS (SAINT). Lived 354-430 A.D. Was the first writer on Christian preaching and last of the important rhetorical teachers of the Empire. He was born at Tagaste (Africa) where later he served as a *grammaticus*, but moved to the more important city of Carthage where he taught rhetoric but found the students disrespectful; *eversores*, he called them. To escape them he journeyed to Rome where the young scholars were more respectful but also more dishonest: many left his lectures without paying the required fees. Bauto, consul, appointed him to a chair of rhetoric in Milan. There Bishop Ambrose befriended him, and Augustine went to hear the great preacher. While he scorned the preacher's ideas, he hung to his words. Later he realized that the speaker's style had brought back the ideas.

His academic work in rhetoric, now that he was genuinely seeking truth, hung heavy on his hands: mornings were devoted to lectures, and afternoons to courting favor of influential friends, in addition to preparing for the following

day's classes. There was no time to pursue the quest for truth. His earlier licentious life now disagreed with his conscience, so he abandoned his mistress—he later took another before settling down—but kept the son she bore him. He had tired of furnishing students means for foolish falsehoods and forensic wars; and while he later thought the rhetorical devices he taught were not for students to practice against the innocent in court, but rather on occasion to save the lives of the guilty, he still conceived of himself as a vendor of victorious verbosity. He saw weakness in contemporary rhetorical training, though not because of his own inability in teaching. Upon reading Cicero's *Hortentius*, now lost, he was converted to the Christian faith in 386 and resigned his professorship without fanfare in August of that year with a prayer of great relief: "Thou didst deliver my tongue when Thou hadst delivered my heart." Few men have wanted to forsake rhetoric more than he.

De Doctrina Christiana (Book IV) is his most important rhetorical work, even if one includes the *Principia Rhetorices* (in 10 chapters), whose authorship is disputed. The former work has come down to us in its entirety, and has significance out of proportion to its size, for it begins rhetoric anew, reaching back over centuries of display of the Sophistic to the ancient principle of moving men to action. It gives new vitality to the counsel of Cicero (an important source for Augustine) as it pertains to Christian preaching. Some important ideas of the work: The preacher should use rhetoric to present truth. It is unimportant that he should spend time learning rules for speaking (though his [Augustine's] are important!), for speaking is best taught not by precepts but by hearing master practitioners (Chap. 2 & 3). Reading in depth is of great value. There are three kinds of style—grand, middle, and subdued—which may be used singly or commingled on various occasions: praise or blame calls for the middle; teaching demands the subdued; and moving men to action, the grand. Perspicuity of style is important so that the hearer may understand. The teacher should avoid as useless all words which fail to instruct (Chap. 10, 17, 19, 22 & 23). He affirms the traditional three ends of oratory (Chap. 12): to teach, to delight, and to persuade; the latter is the most important (Chap. 13). The first depends upon what we say, the other two on how we say it. Ethical appeal is important,

so the speaker's life must reenforce the truths and morals he preaches (Chap. 27). If a preacher has difficulty composing his own sermons, he may take the thoughts of others, for the word of God belongs to all who obey it (Chap. 29).

RWS

AURELIUS OPILIUS. Fl. 1st century B.C. A philosopher, rhetorician, and finally grammarian (in that order), he taught rhetoric in Rome but closed his school there and moved to Smyrna when Rutilius Rufus was banished from Rome. He authored several books on various learned topics.

RWS

AUSONIUS, D. MAGNUS. Lived ca. 310-394 A.D. Was born, the second of four children, at Bordeaux, the chief rhetorical center in the 4th century of the Empire. His education began at Toulouse under his maternal uncle in whose care he remained for eight years. He returned to Bordeaux where he continued rhetorical studies with Minervius Alcimus, T. Victor Minervius, and perhaps Delphidius. He served as a lawyer and *grammaticus* in Bordeaux for a while, then turned his attention to teaching rhetoric, performing the task so ably that the King (Valentinian I) called him to Treves to tutor Prince Gratian. He was highly honored as a rhetorician and was finally elevated to consulship by Gratian (379), having already served ably as prefect of Libya, Gaul, and Italy. His *Thanksgiving* expresses his appreciation for the appointment. While he seems to have been a warm-hearted and effective teacher, he nonetheless looked back on his career after thirty years and viewed it as a thankless task, giving no profit. Several of his works have come down to us, none of rhetorical interest.

RWS

AXIUS PAULUS. A little known 4th-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric from Bigerra (Aquitania). Friend of Ausonius, he taught declamation, but was chiefly known as a poet. In his library were books of orators, philosophers, poets, and historians.

RWS

BAEBIUS MACRIANUS. Fl. 3rd century A.D. He lived in Rome and was one of several of Emperor Alexander Severus' teachers of rhetoric.

RWS

BASILICUS. Lived 2nd century (A.D.). Taught in Nicomedia where Apsines was one of his pupils. He wrote *On Ways of Writing*, *On Figures of Style*, *On Oratorical Preparation or Lack of Preparation*, *On Revision*, *On Topics*, and commentaries to Demosthenes.

RWS

BEMARCHUS of Caesarea in Cappadocia. A mid-4th-century contemporary and rival of Libanius, he taught rhetoric in both Caesarea and Constantinople, in addition (possibly) to lecturing in Egypt. Besides writing a history of Constantine the Great (in ten books), he also wrote declamations and speeches, none of which has come down to us. So intense was the rivalry and jealousy between him and Libanius that Bemarchus (1) tried to influence the governor to (a) withdraw his patronage from Libanius and (b) refuse to attend Libanius' lectures; and (2) delivered a declamation in demonstration of his superiority over Libanius. In all three endeavors he failed, doubtless because of his professional inferiority to Libanius.

RWS

BLANDUS. The first Roman of free birth to teach rhetoric at Rome, he numbered among his students Papirius Fabianus, who in turn taught the younger Seneca. There is an extant excerpt of a declamation, perhaps used in his teaching, in which he urges the Spartans not to retreat under the onslaught of Xerxes. The speech is a lusty one appealing well to his listener's pride. He was a contemporary of Porcius Latro and Passienus and doubtless knew them.

RWS

BOETHIUS, ANICIUS MANLIUS SEVERINUS. Lived ca. 475/480-525 A.D. Though he translated and/or wrote commentaries on numerous Greek works on rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics, as well as the *Topica* of Cicero, this pivotal figure between the ancient and medieval world is chiefly known for his *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in five books, written after Theodoric had imprisoned him for involvement in a charge of high treason. He had much influence in transmitting a "place" logic-rhetoric to such Renaissance theorists as Rudolph Agricola.

RWS

BUTEO (FABIUS?). A late 1st-century (B.C.) director of a rhetorical school in Rome during the early years of Augustus' reign, and a contemporary of Porcius Latro, whom he rivalled. Gargonius seems to have been an imitator of him but Seneca thought Buteo an arid declaimer.

RWS

CAECILIUS of Calacte. An important 1st-century (B.C.) teacher, theorist, and able critic of rhetoric, he flourished in Augustan Rome and perhaps studied under Apollodorus of Pergamum. A Hellenistic Jew who was naturalized at Rome, he wrote many important works on rhetoric, all of which, except for fragments, are now lost. He strongly opposed the Asianic school, seeking to call his contemporaries back to pure Attic style. In this he helped to further the classical movement in his time. Nothing is known of his effectiveness as a teacher, though he appears to have been unpopular. Cicero, Plutarch, and other ancients thought highly of his works, however.

Among his literary efforts are treatises dealing with (1) the art of rhetoric itself; (2) the style of the Ten Attic Orators, which, perhaps, is the first specific mention of a canon of The Ten; (3) a book each on Antiphon and Lysias; (4) a comparison of Demosthenes and Aeschines and one of Demosthenes and Cicero; (5) a critical work on the speeches of Demosthenes; (6) a lexicon of rhetorical terms; and (7) his important treatise on the Sublime, the first work in antiquity with this title and the work which prompted "Longinus" to write his famous work of a later date.

RWS

CALLINICUS. A 3rd-century (A.D.) native of Syria (or perhaps of Arabia Petraea), Callinicus taught rhetoric at Athens during the reign of Gallienus and rivalled Genethlius. His several works, none extant, included encomia and speeches.

RWS

CALLIPPUS. Fl. mid 4th century B.C. A shadowy figure in the history of rhetoric, he took part in the liberation of Syracuse (357 B.C.), acquiring a reputation for treacherous and unprincipled political activity. It emerges from incidental notices in Aristotle (*Rhet.* II.23.14, 21) that Callippus, who had been a student of Plato, wrote a *techne* (an 'art,' or manual, of rhetoric), and one infers from the Aristotelian contexts that in it he dealt with some of the common topics from which enthymemes, especially those employed in protreptic and apotreptic (persuasive and dissuasive) oratory, are constructed.

EBH

CANINIUS CELER. A Greek rhetorical teacher of the 2nd century (A.D.) who tutored Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus Commodus when the latter was prince. Secretary to Emperor Hadrian, he was distinguished for his ability in composing imperial letters, for which talent Philostratus says some tried to deprive him of credit. A contemporary and rival of Dionysius of Miletus, he was inferior to the latter in declamation.

RWS

CARNEADES of Cyrene. Born in 213 B.C., Carneades was the leading philosopher of the so-called Middle Academy in his old age. By developing the decidedly non-Platonic philosophical position of his much earlier (265-240) predecessor Arcesilaus on the practical value of probabilities, he did, one may assume, in no small measure pave the way for an ultimate rapprochement between philosophy and rhetoric. For although Carneades was partisan to philosophy in her long-standing controversy with rhetoric (which finds classic expression in Plato's *Gorgias* and, to a lesser degree, in the *Phaedrus*) and considered rhetoric a "base craft," his attested (Cicero *de Orat.* II.161, Quintilian XII.i.35) facility in arguing publicly for or against a set topic would seem to indicate a highly developed "probability-technique" pressed into the service of philosophy; and that he, as a philosopher, should practice such rhetorical knackery no doubt endeared him to rhetoric's camp. Even the philosophers had become expert rhetoricians! To judge from Cicero, he all but bewitched Rome during his celebrated visit in 155 B.C., making himself the intellectual darling of a public that found itself entranced with the dazzling polish of Greek rhetorical sophistication; one safely imagines that the aged xenophobe Cato Censor, who attended the lectures of Carneades, viewed these displays as a learning adventitious to all good Romans. The eloquence of Carneades was said to have been extraordinary; the style in the oral disputations of this man who displayed, in Cicero's words (*de Orat.* III.68), "a virtually divine intellectual alertness" was characterized by a pleasing quality, ornateness, forceful vigor and fullness of expression. Since Carneades wrote letters and left behind no theoretical works or disputations, the task of transmitting his teachings to posterity was undertaken by an impressed core of students. The master himself died in 128 B.C.

EBH

CARRINAS SECUNDUS. A 1st-century (A.D.) Roman teacher of rhetoric whom Caligula expelled from Rome (39 A.D.) for declaiming on one occasion against tyrants. The teacher then went to Athens where in remorse and shame he committed suicide.

RWS

CASSIANUS. Ionian rhetorician of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. According to Philostratus, his contemporary, he was so impudent that he aspired to the chair of rhetoric in Athens even though he had taught only one student, Periges the Lydian.

RWS

CASTOR of Rhodes. A 1st-century (B.C.) rhetorical theorist, particulars of whose life are unknown, as is the place of his birth; but Rhodes figured prominently in his later life. We do know that he married the daughter of King Deiotarus of Galatia, suggesting that he was more than a commoner. Pompey called him a friend of the Romans. As there are several entangled Castors in antiquity, it is impossible to know some details for certain.

RWS

CATO, M. PORCIUS (the Elder, the Censor). Lived 234-149 B.C. He had an active military and political career, and was a champion of old Roman traditions against Greek influences. He was the first Roman to publish his speeches and also wrote history and practical treatises. His speeches are lost, but fragments which survive reveal stylistic qualities that do not appear in his extant treatise on agriculture. A work on rhetoric, now lost, included the definition of the orator as *vir bonus dicendi peritus* (a good man skilled in speaking) and the precept *rem tene verba sequentur* (hold on to the matter and the words will follow).

MLC

CELSUS. A 4th-century (A.D.) Greek teacher of Latin rhetoric in Antioch who studied under Libanius in Nicomedia and under Themistius probably when the latter was in Constantinople. In 354 he went to Athens where he was a fellow student of Julian. He seems to have been more active in politics than in pedagogy, having attained senatorial rank (through the help of Themistius) and in 387 was made consul of Syria.

RWS

CENSORIUS ATTICUS AGRICIUS. A 4th-century (A.D.) preceptor of eloquence in Bordeaux. Of noble birth, he trained to highest perfection many youths, among whom were Patera and Nazarius.

RWS

CEPHISODORUS of Thebes. Greek writer and rhetorician of the 4th century (B.C.), and pupil of Isocrates; wrote an attack on both Plato and Aristotle defending his master's theories of rhetoric.

PDA

CESTIUS PIUS, L. A 1st-century (B.C.) teacher of rhetoric, born in Smyrna, who taught Latin rhetoric at Rome. His chief method of teaching was requiring students to learn his declamations by heart, perhaps because he was egotistical and spiteful. Notwithstanding, he numbered Alfius Flavius, M. Argentarius, and Triarius among his pupils. He declaimed in Asianic style mostly in his own school, but sometimes operated in others' as well. Seneca the Elder treats him extensively, especially in the *Controversiae*, where excerpts of his declamations on a variety of topics can be found.

RWS

CHARMADAS. A pupil of Carneades, greatest of the Academic Sceptics of the 2nd century (B.C.), Charmadas engaged in controversy with the rhetoricians of his time; his arguments against them derived chiefly from Plato's *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*.

PDL

CHORICIUS. A 6th-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric at the Gaza school. He studied under Procopius and succeeded him in the chair at the institution. He served as the chief state orator under Justin and Justinian, and compiled a book of declamations.

RWS

CHRESTUS of Byzantium. Fl. last half of the 2nd century A.D. Contemporaneous with Adrian of Tyre and Onomarchus of Andros, he studied under Herodes Atticus, who colored his style. He held a chair in Athens. If the illustrious students who came from his classroom are any indication, he seems to have been a highly successful teacher: Hippodromus, Philiscus, Athenodorus, Apollonius of Naucratis, Isagoras (poet), Nicomedes of Pergamum (advocate), Aristaenetus of Byzantium (advocate), and Callaeschrus of Athens (philoso-

pher) are some of the one hundred or so at Athens who paid fees to sit at his feet. He died at age fifty. RWS

CHRYSIPPUS. A 3rd-century (B.C.) writer on rhetoric who, though primarily a Stoic philosopher, authored four books on spoken discourse (addressed to Dioscurides), another four on disposition, and a final five on speech elements. His definition of rhetoric as the art of speaking well, Quintilian said, was derived from Chrysippus' teacher, Cleanthes. RWS

CICERO, M. TULLIUS. Cicero was born in 106 B.C. and after an education in both rhetoric and philosophy began to practise as an advocate in 81. His political career culminated in his consulship in 63 B.C., when he suppressed the conspiracy of Catiline. He stood for internal peace and the maintenance of the republican constitution against violence and illegality. But after the alliance of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus in 60 he had little political influence until 44, when after the assassination of Caesar he emerged as leader of republicanism and opponent of Antony. In 43 he was put to death by Antony.

A man of wide culture and lively intellect, he wrote much on rhetoric and philosophy as well as publishing numerous speeches. His earliest rhetorical work, *De Inventione* (ca. 86 B.C.), is an elaborate exposition of the first of the three main divisions of ancient rhetoric, with little of Cicero's own in it. *De Oratore* (55 B.C.) treated rhetoric in a freer and more attractive manner. In this elegantly written dialogue he reproduces many of the precepts of the schools, but maintains that the training they provide is not enough; the orator should be well educated in philosophy, law, and history, and should be master of a wide general knowledge. He deplores the breach between rhetoric and philosophy, and advocates a return to the old ideal of the philosopher-orator-statesman. To the year 46 B.C. belong the *Brutus*, a history of Roman oratory in dialogue form, and the *Orator*, in which in addition to reiterating some of the ideas in *De Oratore*, he justifies his own style of oratory against those who criticised it as diffuse and redundant and themselves cultivated a straightforward unadorned style. He claims that whereas they had only the plain style at their command, he was master of all three styles, the plain, the grand and the intermediate. The

Orator also includes a detailed study of prose rhythm and periodic structure, features which were an essential part of Cicero's oratory and which, he believed, contributed much to its success. Minor works which show his continued interest in the technicalities of rhetoric are *Partitiones Oratoriae* (ca. 54 B.C.) and *Topica* (44 B.C.).

Of Cicero's speeches fifty-eight survive and many more were published but are now lost. Among his forensic speeches may be mentioned the early *Pro Roscio Amerino* (80 B.C.), the speeches against Verres (70 B.C.), in which he pursues the indictment with great thoroughness and vigour, *Pro Cluentio* (66 B.C.), of which he later boasted that he had "thrown dust in the eyes of the jury," *Pro Sestio* (56 B.C.), much of which is a justification of his political position, and *Pro Milone* (52 B.C.), in which he makes the best of a bad case. Of his political speeches, which include those made in the senate and those delivered at public meetings, the first was the smoothly eloquent *Pro Lege Manilia* (66 B.C.), the last were the vigorous attacks on Antony known as the *Philippics* (44-43 B.C.).

Cicero claimed to be a philosophic orator, but though he could adorn a commonplace and appeal to high ideals, the important thing for him was to win his case or to commend his views. He can be unscrupulous and he is often irrelevant. He uses his wit both to amuse and to wound, and his powers of emotional appeal seldom failed to produce the desired effect.

In spite of some reaction against his style in the period immediately after his death, Cicero was generally recognised as Rome's greatest orator. He has been regarded as a model of style by modern Latinists, particularly in Renaissance Italy when the cult of Ciceronianism was carried to excess.

MLC

CLAUDIUS, AELIANUS. Fl. late 2nd-early 3rd century A.D. Roman sophist born in Praeneste (Italy) who studied rhetoric under Pausanias of Caesarea and later taught it at Rome during the reign of Septimius Severus. After some time as a teacher, he seems to have retired to writing, but none of his works of rhetorical interest has survived. Although a native speaker of Latin, he succeeded in learning to speak Attic Greek. His style, though simple, sometimes was imitative of Dion Chrysostom.

RWS

CLEANTHES. Lived 331-232 B.C. Cleanthes ranked among the foremost pupils of the Stoa's founder, Zeno of Citium, whom he succeeded as head of the school ca. 263 B.C. He was the last of the Hellenistic philosophers to use verse, as had a number of the Presocratics, in expounding his ethical and philosophical position; a good example is the famous "Hymn to Zeus." An important facet of Stoic philosophy was the branch of logic, which included rhetoric. Stoic rhetoric, as developed in theory, prescribed brevity and simplicity, urging the speaker to bypass the traditional appeals to the emotions; and the practice of Stoic rhetoric was, it seems, singularly tedious in its strict loyalty to the theoretical precepts, producing anything but conviction in an audience. Among the fifty titles preserved in Diogenes Laertius of works by Cleanthes, there is an 'Art of Rhetoric.' Cleanthes, true to Zeno's insistence on scientific investigation in all pursuits, called rhetoric "the science (Gr. *epistēmē*, Lat. *scientia*) of speaking correctly and well"; he believed, reports Quintilian (II.xvii.41), that to speak correctly one must proceed by an orderly methodology (*via, ordine*), and we may assume that the rules were laid down in his 'Art.' Cleanthes' claim that rhetoric was a science, rather than an art, may perhaps be considered to represent an important step toward the full legitimization of rhetoric; it is certainly a radical departure from Plato! Cleanthes' belief, however, that only the wise and the virtuous man could be a good speaker (a stand not in itself un-Platonic) seems to presuppose that wisdom and virtue are attainable only by scientific (i.e. Stoic) methods. And rhetoric, as actually practiced by the Stoics, was, as indicated, a very weak thing indeed. The concern, however unrealistically translated into practice, of Stoics such as Cleanthes with rhetoric did at any rate ultimately play an important role in awakening interest in rhetorical theory in the Roman world; for rhetoric was a part of the Stoic philosophical system, and Stoic philosophy, in particular as transmitted in the less severely, more practically modulated teachings of the Greek Panaetius at Rome between 156-129 B.C., became an integral and influential component of the Roman intellectual milieu. Cleanthes, finally, having lived a long life marked by the highest moral strictness and severity, starved himself to death.

EBH

CLITOMACHUS. A Carthaginian by birth (187 B.C.), Clitomachus came to Athens in 163 B.C., where he made himself a student of the Academic Carneades. In antiquity his mental acuity and scholarly industry were famous. Indeed, his literary productivity, to which the preservation of the teachings of his non-writing master Carneades owes an inestimable debt, must have been truly enormous, for Diogenes Laertius ascribes more than four hundred books to the enviably diligent stylus of Clitomachus. Among the many works is mentioned a *paramytheticos logos* to the Carthaginians on the occasion of their city's destruction by the Romans, as well as a critique of rhetoric. According to a late testimony (Stobaeus), Clitomachus committed suicide in 109 B.C.

EBH

CLODIUS QUIRINALIS, P. A little known 1st-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric born in Arles (Gaul) but who later taught rhetoric in Rome during Nero's reign. Not to be confused with Palpellius Quirinalis.

RWS

CLODIUS TURRINUS. A 1st-century (B.C.-A.D.) orator and teacher of rhetoric, of whose latter capacity little is known. Born in Spain, he was a colleague in grammar school in Cordova of Seneca the Elder and later taught rhetoric there. Along with Porcius Latro, a contemporary, he introduced the practice of declamation in the Spanish schools. He studied in Rome where he heard Apollodorus of Pergamum who exercised much influence on him, to the detriment of Clodius, Seneca the Elder thought. Asiatic style in his orations is unmistakable in one excerpt of a *controversia* (Seneca, *Controv.* x.2.5f). Wealth, modesty, and high honor brought him an appointment to public office in Spain where he lived out his days.

RWS

CORAX. Fl. 467 B.C. The ancient traditions concerning the reputed founder(s) of rhetorical theory, the Sicilian(s) Corax (and Tisias), present conflicting testimony; one cannot hope for absolute certainty in reconciling the contradictions. After the expulsion of the tyrants and the establishment of democracy in Syracuse, Corax is reported to have attempted to influence the citizenry, as had the earlier tyrants, through his speeches, and for this reason to have invented or created an

'Art of Rhetoric'; the other tradition (Cicero derived from Aristotle), probably more reliable, credits Corax with creating an 'Art of Rhetoric' in order to instruct citizens in how to plead their cases in the courts, now filled with litigants in suits for the resettlement of property following in the wake of the recent political upheavals. The first tradition (deriving from the Sicilian historian Timaeus, not famed in antiquity for either his accuracy or his objectivity) clearly implies that Corax's 'art' originates in the symbouleutic (deliberative) genre of oratory, the latter, in the dicanic (judicial) genre. The weight of modern scholarly opinion rests heavily in the balance for the Aristotelian-Ciceronian tradition. Again, there is some confusion about the exact nature of the relationship between Corax and Tisias. Either Corax, as the older of the two, taught his rhetorical theory, and his doctrines were compiled by his student Tisias into an 'Art of Rhetoric'; or Corax himself wrote the first 'Art of Rhetoric,' and Tisias then reworked his teacher's treatise for publication in his own name. Yet, whatever the true supplement may be for the indicated biographical lacunae, from all the available evidence it can be safely asserted that rhetoric as a theoretical preoccupation began in Sicily in the first half of the 5th century B.C. under the leadership of Corax and/or Tisias; that this theory prescribed for a speech three distinct parts: introduction (*proimion*), proof or refutation (*agôn*), and conclusion (*epilogos*); that, finally, this Sicilian rhetoric relied extensively on the argument from probability (the so-called *eikos*-technique). The argument from probability was, in fact, central to early rhetorical theory, and its influence is evident on many a page not only of Lysias and Isocrates, both of whom were said to have been pupils of Tisias and Gorgias, but also of ancient oratory in general. The definition of rhetoric as "a craftsman of persuasion" (*peithous démiourgos*) is attributed variously to Corax or Tisias. EBN

CORNELIUS CELSUS, A. A 1st-century (A.D.) encyclopaedist who wrote on rhetoric, jurisprudence, medicine, military art, and agriculture. His home is unknown, though he must have spent considerable time at Rome, if the purity of his style is any indication. Quintilian, an important source of knowledge of him, and his admirer, tells us much concerning his rhetorical ideas. As to what rhetoric is: it is persuading

on any doubtful subject in politics. With a question being crucial to the definition, he agrees with others looking for plausibility rather than truth in rhetoric. He recognized two *status*: *an sit?* and *quale sit?* (whether a thing is and what kind it is); each of these is further subdivided. On style, for which he was indebted to Rutilius Lupus, he (1) called for euphemisms to soften accusations against one's client; (2) forbade orators to invent new words; (3) seemed to look for hidden meanings in what speakers said; and (4) insisted there was a special form of rhythmical structure which produced a stately effect. On organization he discouraged the exordium containing the name of one's opponent, on the grounds that it was irrelevant to the actual case. He favored the climactic order of arrangement of his arguments, but with the weakest arguments in the middle (Quintilian, VII.i.10). RWS

CORNIFICIUS. A 1st-century (B.C.) writer, at one time thought to be the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. RWS

CORNUTUS, L. ANNAEUS. Lived ca. 20-85 A.D. Was a teacher of rhetoric at Rome ca. 50. He was born in Libya and came, probably as a slave, into the house of the Annaei, which was distinguished for its love of literary pursuits. The Annaei liberated him and he became, because of his culture and development, the teacher and friend of the poets Persius and Lucan. Nero had less appreciation for his talents, exiling him in 68 for his criticism of Nero's literary attempts. He wrote on rhetoric, theology, and tragedy, and probably wrote satires. A number of rhetorical works came from his pen but none has come down *in toto* to us. His work on figurative language, chief source for which was Caecilius of Calacte, has not survived. His Rhetoric, written in Greek, divided speeches into three types: judicial, deliberative, and panegyric. Though the anonymous *Art of Political Speaking* is not his but that of a later writer, he may be the same one who Suidas says wrote many philosophical and rhetorical books. Aullus Gellius and Dio Cassius highly respected him. RWS

CORVUS. A rhetorician of the time of Augustus who directed a school of rhetoric at Rome. Though sufficiently skilled to declaim in the presence of Sosius, subduer of the

Jews, he nonetheless is known only through Seneca, who speaks of his rhetorical stupidity exhibited on at least one occasion.

RWS

CRATES of Mallus. The Stoic grammarian Crates (2nd century B.C.) was one of the chief spokesmen for the influential school at Pergamum in Asia Minor, where he also held the office of head librarian. Scholarly activity in the Pergamene school was more or less in opposition to that carried on by Aristarchus (see entry under Aristophanes of Byzantium) and his disciples at Alexandria. For although Crates, like his Alexandrian counterpart, was a voluminous and skilled exegete of the ancient authors, notably of Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides, his approach to criticism was primarily allegorical. It may well be that his basic literary position, as evident in his reliance on this philologically less strict methodology, is reflected also by his favoring of 'anomaly' over the Aristarchean preference for 'analogy' in fundamental linguistic studies. As a grammarian-critic, namely, Crates was embroiled in the critical controversy between analogy (the doctrinal position, briefly, that language and linguistic usage either are or are not in an absolute sense correct and in accordance with fixed rules) and anomaly (the correctness of language and linguistic usage depends not on any absolute criterion, but on the practice of the eminent authors). Thus expertly versed in the methods of grammatical analysis, etymological studies, and literary criticism, he arrived about 168 B.C. to Rome on an embassy from Pergamum; his stay in the capital was unexpectedly protracted. For that Imperial garnerer of gossip, Suetonius, offers us (*de Gramm.* 2), not atypically, the amusing *pièce* that Crates "in the neighborhood of the Palatine stumbled into a sewer-opening and broke his leg." As a result, however, of the enforced period of recuperation, Crates spent considerable time at Rome lecturing (*acroasis . . . fecit*) and discussing at length his scholarly field of endeavor. By Suetonius' admission he was the first to introduce the notion of systematic grammatical study to the Romans; Crates seems, in fact, to have provided the real impetus for the Romans fully to embrace the academic disciplines not only of grammar, but also of its inevitable concomitants, etymology, literary criticism, and philology in general. His influence on Roman intellectual life made itself strongly felt through his famous student Panaetius.

EBH

CRITOLAUS. A Peripatetic of the 2nd century (B.C.) from Phaselis in Asia Minor, he was one of the three Greek philosophers sent as ambassadors by Athens to Rome in 155 B.C. He amassed a series of arguments intended to prove that Rhetoric is not an art; his speeches at Rome, however, gained for him a reputation as a public speaker. PDL

CYPRIAN. Lived ca. 200-258 A.D. Born in Carthage and spent his entire life in that city. He was a man of wealth and education and won distinction as a teacher of rhetoric. About 246 he was converted, whereupon he sold all he had and gave it to the poor. This liberality, plus that of his teaching and speaking, pushed him rapidly up in the church. Consecrated bishop two or three years later, he experienced troublesome times both within and without the church, yet was widely respected. A number of his treatises (none rhetorical) and letters survive, but unfortunately no examples of his preaching or oratory. His writings lack originality. Under the persecution of Decius (250) he fled, remaining in retirement for a year, but returned to his home town and later was beheaded as a martyr in 258. TO

CYRUS. A Greek rhetorician of uncertain date, though probably a contemporary of Sopater of Apamea (4th century A.D.). His extant treatise, *On the Distinction of Status*, is an attempt to arrive at the status for each of a number of specific offenses and charges (e.g., fraud, damage, ingratitude, insanity). RWS

DAMIANUS of Ephesus. An eminently successful 2nd-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric in that city, he attracted students from far and wide to his lectures in Ephesus while others came just to converse with him. He attended, as a lad, the lectures of Aristides at Smyrna and Adrian at Ephesus, with both of whom he was on friendly terms in later years. As a man of wealth, he was liberal with his money in many ways: as a teacher, he frequently remitted the fees of students unable to pay for instruction; at the civic level, he helped restore the public buildings as well as the celebrated temple of the Goddess Artemis, at his own expense. Though we have none of his rhetorical works, orations, or declamations—if he ever published them—we do know that his style was more

ornate than was customary for a legal orator (which he was) and more judicial than was usual for a sophist. He died at age seventy and was interred in Ephesus where he was highly esteemed.

RWS

DELPHIDIUS, ATTIVS TIRO. A 4th-century (A.D.) rhetorician in Gaul who, though eloquent, learned, and witty, seems not to have enjoyed his teaching, much to the despair of his pupils' fathers. A legal pleader and son of famed Attius Pater, he gained renown at home and abroad by means of his oratory.

RWS

DEMETRIANUS of Ravenna. A 3rd-century (A.D.) rhetorician and grammarian, and father of Aspasius of Ravenna. A teacher of wide learning, he apparently taught his son not only rhetoric and grammar but also mathematics before releasing him to the rhetorical schools. Demetrianus was a very skilled critic, according to Philostratus.

RWS

DEMETRIUS of Erythrae. A voluminous writer, of the 1st century B.C., who in addition to poetry wrote historical and rhetorical treatises. He is not to be confused with Demetrius of Erythrae, a grammarian and rival of Tyrannion in the city of Amisus in Asia Minor.

EBH

DEMETRIUS of Phaleron. A distinguished statesman and man of letters who lived ca. 350-ca. 280 B.C. In his early years he frequented the lectures of Aristotle and subsequently became a close friend of Aristotles' successor Theophrastus. From 317 to 307 Demetrius was governor of Athens on behalf of Cassander the king of Macedon. He was forced to flee to Thebes where he spent the next ten years in abject poverty. In 297 he arrived in Alexandria and received the literary patronage of Ptolemy Soter. The latter's death forced Demetrius again into flight in 283. He died shortly afterwards somewhere in northern Egypt.

Knowledge of Demetrius' oratory comes mainly from comments of the ancient Roman critics. Cicero and Quintilian had access to his speeches and read them with pleasure. In contrast to the powerful grandeur of his Attic predecessors, Demetrius cultivated a soft, sweet style of oratory and became its leading representative. In this style abundant use was made of metaphor and other devices to provide elegance and

charm. Abruptness, coarseness, and even passion were scrupulously avoided. It is not surprising that we are told of Demetrius' low estimate of Demosthenes' style, to which his own was diametrically opposed.

In addition to speeches, of which only a few fragments have survived, Demetrius wrote a number of rhetorical treatises. We read about an *Art of Rhetoric* in two books and a *Life of Demosthenes*, which may have been one in a series of biographies of outstanding orators. The work entitled *On Style* is probably not to be attributed to Demetrius, although its strong Peripatetic orientation, its date (now set in the 3rd century by Kroll and Grube), and its lack of enthusiasm for Demosthenes suggest the influence, if not the authorship, of Demetrius of Phaleron.

EBH

DEMETRIUS of Syria. Fl. 2nd-1st-century B.C. Was a Greek rhetorician who at an advanced age—he was perhaps born ca. 140 B.C.—taught Cicero in Athens in 79 B.C. A man of reputation, he is described by Cicero as a not unworthy teacher of oratory.

RWS

DEMOCRITUS of Abdera. Atomic philosopher of the 5th century (B.C.), he wrote widely on a number of subjects, and is credited by some with fostering the development among his disciples of antithetical structure in prose.

PDA

DIDYMUS of Alexandria. Lived ca. 65 B.C.-10 A.D. In addition to writing lexical, grammatical, and miscellaneous works, he was a philologist and commentator on Greek prose. Son of the famous grammarian of Alexandria of the same name, with whom he is easily confused, he had an educationally privileged home and became the first Alexandrian to write a special commentary on the Attic orators, treating especially Demosthenes and Aeschines, but including also Antiphon, Isaeus, Isocrates, Hyperides, and Dinarchus. A papyrus of his commentary on Demosthenes' *Philippics* illustrates his method of work. Valerius Harpocration of Alexandria constitutes our chief secondary source for him.

RWS

DIDYMUS of Alexandria. Lived ca. 309-96 A.D. Head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria; not to be confused with the monk Socrates mentioned in his *History*. He became blind at the age of four but despite this early handicap, by sheer

work distinguished himself as rhetorician, grammarian, dialectician, mathematician, musician, astronomer, and philosopher. The last great teacher of the Catechetical School, he enjoyed wide fame, people coming from far and wide to Alexandria to see and hear him. Among his pupils were Jerome, Tyrannius Rufinus, Palladius, Ambrosius, Evagrius, and Isidorus. He was a man of vast learning and authored many theological works in an age of theological controversy. He died at the age of eighty-five. RWS

DINARCHUS. Professional speech writer of the 4th century (B.C.), he was born in Corinth but resided in Athens. He possessed little originality and is known chiefly for the weaknesses of his style, particularly his overfondness of such devices as epanalepsis and asyndeton. PDA

DIO COCCEIANUS CHRYSOSTOMUS of Prusa. Lived ca. 40-120 A.D. A much traveled sophist, orator, and philosopher and grandfather of the historian by the same name. A great admirer of Hyperides, Aeschines, and Lycurgus for the novice speaker (rather than Demosthenes and Lysias), he reflected on the training needed for the public speaker. He suggested that (1) there is no need for toil or exacting labor; one should read the orators (Hyperides, Aeschines and Lycurgus), poets (Menander, Euripides, and Homer), historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, and Theopompus of Chios) and the philosophers (esp. Xenophon); and (2) sometimes, as for his wealthy friend, it is best to dictate to a secretary one's speech rather than write it out in the speaker's own hand. One should not, however (in contradistinction to Quintilian's advice) do this with school declamations.

As an itinerant philosopher-teacher he lacked originality, but did take philosophy seriously enough for it to shape his life. Nearly eighty of his speeches have survived. RWS

DIODORUS of Alexandria. Of unknown date and uncertain identity, though perhaps a 2nd-century (A.D.) contemporary of Emperor Hadrian. He wrote on Attic Style and at least one other rhetorical work. Oral discourse for Diodorus, in contrast with Aristotle and other early theorists, was concerned not with persuasion but with credibility. RWS

DIOGENES of Seleucia. Also known as the Babylonian, he was the Stoic representative of the Greek philosophical triad that visited Rome in 155 B.C. on an embassy from Athens. The Romans attended his lectures as eagerly as they did those of his fellow ambassadors. A modern scholar has assigned to Diogenes the famous definition of an orator (a morally good man skilled in speaking—*vir bonus dicendi peritus*), which runs as a leit-motif through Roman theory from Cato the Elder to Quintilian. A student of Chrysippus, and himself a later leader of the Stoa, Diogenes seems to have conceived of rhetoric as an art (*technē*) which could not be understood in any scientific or methodical sense, for it lacked a proper object and end of study. Having devoted himself seriously to such varied disciplines as theology, physics, ethics, music, rhetoric, and grammar, he made perhaps his most important contribution in the last-named field—and besides syntax and forms, grammar included etymology, style, and linguistic studies in general. His work was pivotal in the further elaboration of Stoic grammar, a primary characteristic of which was its 'anomalistic' (for reference to 'anomaly' and 'analogy' as technical terms, see the entry under Crates of Mallus) predilection. He thus exercised, himself directly and indirectly through his pupils, no small influence on the budding Roman preoccupation with the establishment of a 'grammar' of Latin. Among his students were Panaetius and, in all probability, Crates. Diogenes died before 150 B.C. at an advanced age.

EBH

DION. Of unknown time, though antecedent to Quintilian who cites him. Dion divided all rhetoric into two parts: *inventio* and *dispositio*. *Elocutio* he placed under *inventio*, *pronuntiatio* under *dispositio*, leaving *memoria* as a kind of appendix.

RWS

DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus. Lived ca. 60-ca. 8 B.C. Greek historian, literary critic, and teacher of rhetoric. Little is known of his career: he says only that he was born in Halicarnassus, the son of a certain Alexander, and that he sailed to Italy in 30 B.C., learned Latin, and spent twenty-two years working on a history of Rome from prehistoric times to the beginning of the first Punic war. Meanwhile he taught rhetoric to the sons of Roman aristocrats. He speaks of Caecilius of Calacte the Greek rhetorician, as a friend, but he does not

refer to or get mentioned by any contemporary Latin writer. A century later Quintilian coupled him with Caecilius and others as famous authorities. Greek rhetoricians from the 2nd century A.D. to Byzantine times regarded him as a classic.

Dionysius' surviving works consist of about the first half of his historical work, called *Roman Antiquities*, and a group of critical writings traditionally known as *Scripta rhetorica*, all of which deal with literary style. These include (in roughly chronological order): the *First Letter to Ammaeus*, which refutes on historical grounds the thesis that Demosthenes had studied Aristotle's *Rhetoric*; the fragmentary *On Imitation*, which may well have influenced the discussion of Greek writers in the tenth book of Quintilian; a work on the stylistic characteristics of the ancient orators from which survive an *Introduction* and essays *On Lysias*, *On Isocrates*, *On Isaeus*, and *On Demosthenes*; *On Literary Composition*, important for its discussion of euphony and rhythm in Greek prose and poetry and its three categories of style; the *Letter to Pompeius* dealing with Dionysius' criticisms of the style of Plato; *On Thucydides*; the *Second Letter to Ammaeus* on the style of Thucydides; and an essay *On Dinarchus*.

Dionysius is a mediocre historian; we cannot well judge of him as a teacher, but he uses with success in his writings the techniques of comparing two or more writers and of metathesis, or the rewriting of a passage to illustrate the effect of changes in stylistic treatment. He was well-read and his illustrations are often well chosen. Two of the finest Greek lyric fragments, one by Sappho and one by Simonides of Ceos, are known to us only from his quotation. As a critic of style he is broadminded, thorough, and explicit. He was strongly influenced by the categorizing habits of the rhetorical schools, but he revised many of the categories and invented his own terminology. He believed in imitation of classical models as the soundest basis for stylistic excellence and regarded Homer and Demosthenes as the two greatest models, but admitted that something could be learned from others. The Asianist rhetoric of Hellenistic times, however, evoked his full scorn.

An *Art of Rhetoric* attributed by the MSS to Dionysius is spurious.

GK

DIONYSIUS of Magnesia. A 1st-century (B.C.) rhetorical teacher instructing in Asia (79-77 B.C.) when Cicero visited there. He accompanied Cicero on his Asian excursion, ca. 77 B.C. RWS

DIONYSIUS of Miletus. A 2nd-century (A.D.) rhetorical teacher who studied under Isaeus the Assyrian but who condemned his pupil's singing delivery. Temperate in behavior and eminently successful as a teacher, he was admitted to the esoteric community at the Alexandrian Museum after Emperor Hadrian had made him a provincial prefect. He greatly admired the speeches of Aeschines and was in turn so highly esteemed for his own declamations that he repeated them time and again for his students who virtually memorized them. He taught rhetoric first on the island of Lesbos and subsequently in Ephesus where he later died and was buried in its market place. There his admirers erected a statue to him. Late in his life he had fallen into disfavor with Hadrian, who was jealous of Dionysius' excellence and in consequence elevated rivals of Dionysius to positions of authority. Among his pupils were Antiochus and probably Fronto. RWS

DIONYSIUS, AELIUS. A 2nd-century (A.D.) Greek rhetorician of Halicarnassus and contemporary of Hadrian. Not to be confused with the 1st-century (B.C.) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he was credited by the ancients with a *Dictionary of Attic Words*, in addition to several books on music—he was a skilled musician—and history. RWS

DIONYSIUS ATTICUS. A 1st-century (B.C.) theorist of Halicarnassus whom Quintilian (III.i.18) pinpointed as a Greek interpreter of Dionysius' teacher, Apollodorus of Pergamum. He wrote several Greek works on rhetoric, explaining the theory of his master. RWS

DIONYSIUS THRAX. A 2nd-century (B.C.) rhetorical teacher and Rhodian grammarian who studied under Aristarchus, chief of the Alexandrian library in the 2nd century. Among his literary efforts (which were concerned primarily with grammar) were two or three rhetorical works which have not survived. RWS

DIONYSOCLES. A 1st-century (B.C.-A.D.) rhetorical teacher in Tralles. More a famous orator than teacher of rhetoric, he probably studied under Apollodorus of Pergamum but seems to have learned the rhetorical theory of Damasus of Tralles.

RWS

DIOPHANES of Mytilene. A 2nd-century (B.C.) Greek rhetorician in exile from his native Mytilene, he ranked high among Greek teachers. He attained renown primarily, it seems, because he had as one of his pupils the famous Tiberius Gracchus who became himself no mean orator; it was in a similar capacity that the Greek rhetorician Menelaus of Marathus served Tiberius' younger brother Gaius. Cicero tells us (*Brutus* 104) that in Greece Diophanes was the most eloquent speaker of his time. It was bruited about that it was Diophanes who had inflamed his diligent pupil to embark upon the political radicalism that cost him his life in 133 B.C. Diophanes died in the same year.

EBH

DIOPHANTUS of Arabia. A 4th-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric and contemporary and friend of Prohaeresius, who signally outshone Diophantus as a speaker, but the latter was sufficiently skilled to give the funeral panegyric at Prohaeresius' burial. Eunapius heard and knew him, but did not regard him highly. Quitting Arabia, he went to Athens where he was a disciple of the Cappadocian Julianus and taught Libanius of Antioch.

TO

DONATUS, AELIUS. A mid-4th-century (A.D.) teacher at Rome and preceptor of Saint Jerome. Little is known of his life, except that he wrote a grammatical work which exerted great influence on later Latin grammars, and scholia and introductions to five of Terence's plays. It is uncertain whether he functioned as a rhetorical teacher in addition to being a grammarian, but some so argue on grounds of statements in Halm (*Rh. Lat. Min.*, 583.24 and 581.19 and elsewhere). If he was such an instructor, he seems to have been quite unimportant.

RWS

ECEBOLIUS. A 4th-century (A.D.) chameleonic Christian sophist who taught in Constantinople, and served as preceptor of Julian the Apostate (342) before the latter assumed the purple. Lacking fortitude, Eceboliuss appeared both

Christian and pagan, as circumstances demanded. Socrates declares he sacrificed principles "without hesitation." We know nothing of his teaching.

RWS

EMPEDOCLES. Greek scientific philosopher of the 5th century B.C., author of two long hexameter poems *On Nature* and *Purifications*. Important chiefly for his pluralistic philosophy, he is often credited with influencing Gorgias and other Sicilian rhetoricians, particularly in the use of antithesis; though this may more probably be ascribed to the innate Greek love of symmetry and balance.

PDA

ENNODIUS, MAGNUS FELIX. Lived ca. 476-521 A.D. A rhetorical teacher and bishop of Gaul, he was born of an illustrious family in Arles and educated at Milan by an aunt. In his early years he regarded literary studies as the panacea for the troubles of the time. After his appointment as bishop of Pavia (Italy) in 511 he curiously seemed to detest the very name of "liberal studies." He married a wealthy bride who later, under his influence, entered a convent. He, similarly, renounced the pleasures of the world. In 514 he was sent on an unsuccessful embassy to Constantinople to combat the Eutychian heresy, a Monophysitic doctrine. Of his teaching proper little is known. Twenty-eight declamations, in addition to other works, are from his pen.

RWS

EPICURUS. The founder of Epicurean philosophy was born in Attica in 341 B.C. His was a philosophy devoted not, as commonly imagined, to the abandoned quest for refinements of the voluptuous, but rather to the search for a regulated and rational mode of life which was to be characterized by calm and tranquility (*ataraxia*), by lack of pain (both physical and mental), and by disregard for the vanities of this world. Among the latter was political distinction, which as often as not was achieved through skill in oratory and rhetorical learning. The school of Epicurus, therefore, more than any other major Hellenistic *Weltanschauung*, professed disdain for rhetoric, maintaining a general hostility towards this tool of personal advancement and aggrandizement. Apparently, however, Epicurus did evince some interest in epideictic oratory, but dicanic (judicial) and symbouleutic (deliberative) oratory he dismissed because, unlike epideictic,

these genres were in his opinion not reducible to systems. According to our sole surviving Epicurean tract on rhetoric, that of Philodemus (1st century B.C.), Epicurus had composed a treatise entitled *On Rhetoric*. From the roughly three hundred volumes assigned to Epicurus in antiquity, mere fragments (and these probably rephrasings of the master by students) are extant; he wrote on physics and ethics, as well as criticism of Platonic dialogues. Attributed to him is a contempt for ambiguous usage of language, for formal or regimented learning (. . . *disciplinas omnes fugit*; Quintilian II.xvii.15) and for dialectics. It would seem difficult to believe that rhetoric was truly held so suspect by all his followers, if one considers, for instance, the vigorously rhetorical Latin of his most famous spokesman, the Roman Lucretius (d. 55 B.C.), in his philosophical poem *De Rerum Natura* (On the Nature of Things). Epicurus was, finally, very highly esteemed by his followers both for his way of life and for the calmness with which he bore a painful illness that ended with his death in 270 B.C.

EBH

EPIIDIUS, M. A teacher in Rome of Latin rhetoric toward the close of the republic. M. Antonius (ca. 70 B.C.) and Octavian (ca. 53 B.C.) studied under him. Suetonius, seeing him as a schemer, had no respect for him. He should not be confused with the Tribune Epidius of the same general period.

RWS

EPIPHANIUS of Petra. Son of Ulpianus. He was a 4th-century (A.D.) contemporary of Prohaeresius and Libanius though the latter seems never to have heard him. He enjoyed a considerable reputation as a teacher of rhetoric at Petra and Athens. When living in Laodicea his zeal for Greek paganism led to the excommunication from the church of two close friends, the Apollinarii of Syria. He wrote several works on rhetoric among which were (a) progymnasmata; (b) declamatory exercises; (c) epideictic speeches; and (d) on the similarities and differences of stases. He died childless in Athens sometime before Eunapius came in 362.

RWS

EUBULIDES of Miletus. A Megarian dialectician, he was most famous for the fallacies and riddles that he invented. He appears to have published precepts on the orator's task, and is said to have taught Demosthenes dialectics as well as rhetoric.

EBH

EUDEMUS. A little known theorist and practitioner, probably of the 4th century A.D., he wrote a stylistic and rhetorical lexicon, manuscripts of which are now in Paris, Vienna, and elsewhere. Eudocia praised the work and Suidas seems to have used it.

RWS

EUENOS of Paros. Greek poet and sophist of the 5th century B.C., who extended rhetorical terminology and employed metrical form as an aid to memory. Plato in the *Phaedrus* credits him with the discovery of "insinuation, indirect praise, and indirect censure."

PDA

EUMENIUS. A 3rd-4th century (A.D.) Gallic teacher of Latin rhetoric who enjoyed a successful speaking career and attained great eminence as an instructor. Later he accepted appointment to the office of *magister sacrae memoriae*, a kind of private secretary, in the court of Constantius Chlorus who warmly esteemed him. After Eumenius' native city of Autun was sacked, he was commissioned to superintend the revival of its famous school of rhetoric and in return for his services received from Constantius the handsome salary of six-hundred-thousand sesterces. Longing to see literature restored to its rightful place, he offered to devote his entire salary for as long as it was needed to help restore the university building in the city. He taught in Autun for years, and the fact that many of his students attained high fame in government attested to his ability.

We know nothing of him after 313, when he gave the panegyric on Constantine the Great. Probably he died soon thereafter. Several of his orations are extant.

RWS

EUNAPIUS. Lived 346-ca. 414 A.D. He was born in Sardis (Asia Minor). When sixteen, he journeyed to Athens and studied under Prohaeresius but heard also Diophantus and Sopolis, Prohaeresius' rivals. After five years he returned home (367) and spent the rest of his life in Sardis teaching rhetoric. For an indeterminable time, Eunapius taught in the morning and studied religion and philosophy in the afternoon under Chrysanthius, priest and philosopher, to whom he was dedicated until his preceptor's death; thereupon he expended all his energy on his own school. Eunapius' chief work was a *Universal History* in which he continued (in 14 books) the Chronicle of Dexippus, commencing at 270 and

continuing to the opening of the fifth century. Only fragments of this work have survived. His main contribution to rhetorical studies is his *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*, written ca. 396 and based largely on contemporaries, which despite its gaps is an important source of information on rhetoric in Greece. The style of this ardent pagan was exaggerated Asianic.

TO

EUODIANUS of Smyrna. An able teacher of rhetoric in Rome in the latter half of the 2nd century (A.D.), he was descended from Nicetes the sophist and studied under Aristocles and perhaps under Polemon. In addition to holding the important chair of rhetoric in Rome, he seems also to have instructed actors. He concentrated on panegyric speaking, but no specimens of his oratory have come down to us. He died and was buried in Rome.

RWS

EUSEBIUS. Of uncertain date, but probably 4th century A.D. He taught rhetoric at Rome and appears as one of the speakers in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*.

RWS

EUSFBIUS. A 4th- or 5th-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric in Antioch who studied under Libanius. After Antioch's town council appointed him to the chair of rhetoric, it begged the emperor to confer an honorific title on him, or in some way exempt him from civic duties. This, in addition to his serving on an embassy to Constantinople in 361, would suggest his strong influence in Antioch in mid-4th-century. He wrote a work *De Numeris*, but we know nothing of his teaching. He should not be confused with the church historian.

RWS

EXUPERIUS. A 4th-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric in Tolosa (Toulouse) in Gaul. He learned to speak publicly without the help of rhetorical rules, became fluent, but often lacked solid content. As a teacher of rhetoric, he instructed the nephews of Constantius Chlorus, Dalmatius, and Hannibalianus, who, after their elevation to the purple, made Exuperius governor of Spain. He retired from teaching to spend his final years at Cahors (Cadurca) and died a wealthy man.

RWS

FABIUS LAURENTIUS VICTORINUS, Q. Of unknown time, but after Cicero, on whose *De Inventione* he wrote a two-volume commentary, still extant. Nothing is known of his life, if we accept Teuffel's thesis that he is not identical with C. Marius Victorinus. RWS

FAVONIUS EULOGIUS. A 4th-century (A.D.) rhetorical teacher in Carthage and a contemporary and disciple of Aurelius Augustine. Little is known of him, but Augustine does relate that once Eulogius, devoted to Cicero's rhetorical theories, fell asleep after pondering a difficult Ciceronian passage and Augustine, though at the time overseas, explained it to him in a dream. Both men were at a loss to explain the incident. RWS

FAVORINUS. A 2nd-century (A.D.) native of Arles (Gaul) and friend of Plutarch who dedicated a work to him, of Fronto of Certā, and of Hadrian. Among his pupils were Herodes the Athenian who often opposed Favorinus, though the latter strongly influenced Herodes, and Alexander of Seleucia who nicknamed his teacher the "Clay Plato" because of his tendency to mouth Platonic ideas undiscerningly. He left Gaul, journeying to Rome and Greece where he studied intensively rhetoric and philosophy. Though he knew Latin literature well, he composed only in Greek.

His friendship with the emperor was cyclic in nature. Hadrian, ruler of no mean literary ability, criticized Favorinus' style, but the teacher refused to despair. However, the sophist offended the emperor on one occasion, thereby falling into disgrace. The Greeks, seeking to please the Throne, tore down the bronze statue previously erected in honor of Favorinus. According to Dio Cassius Hadrian sought to detract from Favorinus' popularity by elevating less able rhetorical rivals, but Favorinus, nonetheless, maintained his reputation.

Teaching in Asia Minor, he was honored by the people of Smyrna but in turn incurred the wrath and jealousy of Polemon, Smyrna's most famous sophist. The two attacked each other in orations and declamations, showing much bitterness. His works, mentioned by later writers, showed knowledge of many topics, not the least of which was human nature.

He enjoyed boasting of three things: (a) being a eunuch, yet accused of adultery; (b) hailing from Gaul, yet able to speak and write Greek; and (c) offending the emperor, yet living to talk of it.

At his death, the date and place of which are unknown, he bequeathed to Herodes his library and house at Rome.

RWS

FLAVUS, ALFIUS. Fl. in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Flavus lectured in Rome after he studied under Cestius Pius but before he assumed the dress of manhood. Precocious as a young man, he united poetry and history in his rhetorical works and theory. He attained fame through his ability as a rhetorical teacher, but seems to have dissipated it later through self-indulgence. Seneca the Elder studied under him.

RWS

FORTUNATIANUS, C. CHIRIUS. A 4th- or 5th-century (A.D.) theorist who wrote in three books an *Art of Rhetoric*. He couched the work in the later popular catechetical style of Cicero's *Partitiones Oratoriae*. While Quintilian is his chief source, he also drew heavily for illustrative material from Cicero. Book I deals with basic definitions of rhetoric, the task of the orator, parts of rhetoric, etc. He defines rhetoric as "the science of speaking well," and the orator as "a morally good man skilled in speaking"; both definitions are reminiscent of Quintilian. The task of the orator is to speak well on civil questions, and the end of the orator, "to persuade." As to what civil matters are, there are three types, corresponding to the traditional three kinds of speeches: demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial. What should one have in a demonstrative speech? praise and blame. What in a deliberative speech? persuasion and dissuasion. What in a judicial speech? accusation and defense. Book II continues the discussion of invention, and takes up miscellaneous matters; Book III with the other four canons. We learn there are two types of disposition: rational and artificial; that style consists of words and structures, and that words should be splendid, time-tested, proper, and figurative; that one can improve his style by reading, speaking, and listening to others; that natural and artificial are the two kinds of memory; and finally that delivery (which consists of voice, appearance, gestures, and dress) has three purposes: charm, persuade, and excite. Cassiodorus later made much use of him.

RWS

FRONTO of Emisa. Fl. under Alexander Severus. A 3rd-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric at Athens and uncle of Cassius Longinus.

RWS

FRONTO, M. CORNELIUS. Lived ca. 90-168 A.D. A Roman orator and teacher of rhetoric who enjoyed great fame both as practitioner and instructor, he studied under Dionysius (The Subtle) and Athenodotus before setting up his own school in which both M. Aurelius and L. Verus studied. He served as consul (143) and later as proconsul (of Asia), but begged for relief from such duties because of ill health.

We know considerable of his rhetorical theory, though in truncated form, and his teaching (whence he amassed considerable wealth). It is in letters collected into five books to M. Aurelius that we learn of his rhetorical ideas. In invention: (1) the orator's task is to please, but not at the expense of important content; and (2) noble thoughts, learned best from a study of philosophy, are more important than excellence of style. Concerning style, his chief emphasis, he set down several principles: (1) it is this which distinguishes the first rate from the commonplace speaker; (2) old words must be more expressive and appropriate than modern ones or not be used; (3) similes are indispensable for the student; and (4) maxims can best be learned by using the commonplaces of Theodorus of Gadara for manufacturing them. In the classroom he used these commonplaces and in addition started the student through a course of farces, comedies, orators, and poets and then required extracts of them. His emphasis on *elocutio* led to further demands of verse-making from his students, as well as translation of works from one language to another. Finally he subjected them to themes and *controversiae*.

He founded a sect of rhetoricians called the "Frontoniani," whose disciples imitated his oratory and language. In Rome so widespread was his fame, that youths of high society sought him out for instruction. In old age, when the gout had largely incapacitated him, many gathered around his couch to listen to the delightful conversation of this man of learning. His chief contribution to rhetoric was giving precision and clarity to language.

RWS

FULVIUS SPARSUS. A little known Augustan teacher of rhetoric whose fondness for M. Porcius Latro led to his excessive imitation of the latter's ideas. Though forceful, Sparsus' style was rude, which did not, however, deter Seneca from speaking of him as a sane man among scholars and a scholar among the sane. He seems to have shared the directorship of his school with another rhetor.

RWS

GALLIO, L. JUNIUS. A 1st-century (B.C.-A.D.) teacher of rhetoric at Rome whence he had come, probably from Spain. We know nothing of his education or his life in general, but he probably studied both rhetoric and grammar in Corduba, the birthplace of the two Senecas, the Elder of whom adopted him and is our best source for Gallio. Like others in the early Empire, Gallio was a victim of free speech: the frightened Tiberius (whose favor had brought him to the Senate) exiled him to Lesbos, and Nero later put him to death. Fragments of his declamations, which give ample evidence of rhetorical devices, suggest truth in Tacitus' statement that they were without substance. His single rhetorical treatise has not come down to us.

RWS

GALLUS, LUCIUS PLOTIUS. Gallus was the first (Quintilian II.iv.42, Suetonius *de Rhet.* 2) teacher in Rome to give instruction in rhetoric only in the Latin language, relying as much as possible on illustrative materials from Roman history and life. He thus made rhetoric accessible for the many who could not afford the expenses of studying under a Greek teacher, and his success seems to have been enormous. Probably because the study of rhetoric thus became available to the 'masses,' the censors, who belonged to the wealthy aristocratic class, in 92 B.C. issued an edict against the 'Latin rhetors.' The edict was in all likelihood political in conception, for, since Gallus, the chief of the new teachers, was himself a favorite of the democrat Marius (cf. Cicero *pro Archia* 20), the aristocrats saw in this revolutionary method of teaching rhetoric the possible rise of a democratic rhetoric. And rhetoric had in Rome always been the domain of the wealthy aristocrats. The edict, however, was apparently not very effective, for Roman rhetoric had come to stay—witness the publication of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *de Inventionem* in the immediately following period. Gallus

himself, in addition to teaching rhetoric, also wrote court speeches for individuals who were not themselves equipped to do so.

EBH

GENETHLIUS. A late 3rd-century (A.D.) rhetorician of Patrae (Palestine). A disciple of Minucianus and Agapetus, he taught at Athens where he died at the early age of twenty-eight. This highly talented man's declamations, panegyrics, and Commentaries on Demosthenes have not come down to us.

RWS

GEORGIUS CHOEROBOSCUS. A late 6th-century (A.D.) pedant who taught grammar at Constantinople. Most of his surviving works, which include discussions of prosody, spelling, poetic tropes, and rhetorical syllogisms, are copies of his students' lecture notes.

EBH

GERONTIUS. Gerontius III was a pagan rhetorician in Apameia in the first half of the 4th century A.D. His son, Gerontius VI apparently went to Antioch about 390 to study under Libanius.

RWS

GLYCON. A 1st-century (B.C.-A.D.) Greek rhetorician and teacher of whom little is known; our only sources are Quintilian and Seneca. The former tells that once Glycon asked a lad he produced in court and who was supposed to play on the court's emotions, why he was crying. The lad responded that his pedagogue was pinching him. Seneca credits him as an able speaker on the theme whether Alexander should move off to conquer new worlds, but Seneca does complain of his style, which was a temperate Asianic.

RWS

GORGIAS of Leontini. The important date in the long life (109 years according to Quintilian III.i.19) of Gorgias is 427 B.C., when he arrived from Sicily at Athens on an embassy; for this year is traditionally considered to mark the ushering in of a new era of Hellenic rhetorical awareness. To be sure, rhetoric was ancient already when Homer sang, and statesmen like Themistocles and Pericles had acquired reputations for great oratorical ability, but Gorgias impressed upon his captivated audiences the shattering effects of consciously artistic prose. It is not so much that he introduced

anything essentially new in his technique of oratory as that he successfully demonstrated to what extent those rhetorical elements inherent in the Greek language could be elaborated. His prose, a veritable orgy of euphuistic preciousness, would make a John Lyly shiver with delight. The style is characterized by poeticisms and the excessive employment of, among other so-called Gorgianic 'figures,' isocolon (two clauses, each having an identical number of syllables), homoioteleuton (similarity, or rhyming, of words concluding successive clauses), parison (parallel constructions), and, above all, antithetically executed phrasings—in short, it consists of all the venerable devices of Greek run riot! Gorgias' language, at times displaying almost labyrinthine involutions, seems to be narcissistically preoccupied with itself as its own end (cf. Plato *Gorgias* 449e, Quintilian II.xxi.1), and in places it is rendered obscure or ambiguous by its obsessive striving for aural titillation and emotive effects. Nevertheless, it is correct to assume that the conceits of his stylistic puerilities found great favor with the contemporary Athenians, living, as they did, in a fundamentally oral culture. For not only the sometimes tortuous rhetoric of the speeches in Thucydides, but also the style of the orations of such men as Lysias and Isocrates, is good evidence for the powerful influence of the Sicilian on his audiences. Although not primarily concerned with the practical uses of oratory (i.e. in assemblies and law courts), but rather with its persuasive services in the interest of display (epideictic speeches), Gorgias did teach rhetoric (Cicero *de Orat.* III.59). Since he appears to have written no theoretical 'Art of Rhetoric,' the instruction must have been imparted chiefly through example of his own compositions; it is said that he was able to speak extemporaneously on any desired subject and urged his students (*auditores*) to ask him whatever they pleased (Cicero *de Orat.* I.103, Quintilian XII.xi.21). Being of the Sicilian school of rhetoric, Gorgias, like Tisias, who was presumably one of his teachers, laid great emphasis on logical exposition based not on truth but on probabilities of truth—a procedure greatly in evidence in both Lysias and Isocrates. In claiming, with others, that by good oratory—the weaker cause could easily be made to appear the stronger, and vice versa (cf. Plato *Phaedrus* 267a, Isocrates *Paneg.* 8, Cicero *Brutus* 30), he put great stress on the development of ability in the amplification (*auxesis*) and denigration (*tapeinosis*)

of a given topic, for these techniques, roughly equivalent to praising (cf. Aristotle *Rhet.* I.ix.38) and blaming respectively, were the means to that end. In conclusion, although one may perhaps look upon the surviving fragments of Gorgias' productivity with mixed emotions, one is necessarily forced to acknowledge his tremendous influence on the subsequent development of Greek prose and oratory. EBH

HAGNON of Tarsus. A 2nd-century (B.C.) rhetorician and philosopher, though disagreement exists as to the double role he might have played. His book *Accusation of Rhetoric* denied rhetoric as an art, for which Quintilian (II.xvii.15) chides him: how can an author call his book a "rhetoric," yet deny the art in substance? RWS

HARPOCRATION, AELIUS. A rhetorician of unknown time (perhaps of the 3rd century A.D.) whose works included one on models, an art of rhetoric, hypotheses of Hyperides' speeches, and matters apparently unknown to speakers. He may be identical with Gaius Harpocration who also wrote on the speeches of Hyperides and Lysias, and on the figures of Antiphon. RWS

HARPOCRATION, VALERIUS of Alexandria. Of unknown time, but probably a 4th-century (A.D.) rhetorician contemporaneous with Libanius. He authored a lexicon used by Suidas and extant, of the Ten Orators, which lends information on the spoken Greek language of the time, explains legal and political terms, and accounts for persons and things mentioned in orations of the Attics. RWS

HEGESIAS of Magnesia. Hegesias, an Asiatic sophist, orator, and historian, flourished sometime soon after the death (323 B.C.) of Alexander the Great. To Hegesias is attributed the foundation of the so-called Asiatic style, which came about in reaction to the Attic, as represented, for instance, by the lucid simplicity of Lysias and the severe artistry of Demosthenes. Asianism, a stylistic movement away from the periodic structures of Attic Greek, abounds in short sentences of chopped-up cola that are not, as in the best Attic, coherescent as an entity; nor was there any lack of the empty dazzle of simile, antithesis, and audial effect. The language,

skipping and hopping about in random perversity and with swollen conceit, calls forth intimations of decadent rococo. In Quintilian's words (XII.x.17), it was, in its excessive bombast and self-vaunting, puffed up by a garish concern with fame for its eloquence. The Asiatic style, no doubt reflecting a renaissance of the Gorgianic ideals of prose, was supplanted in the 1st century B.C. by a reversion to the stricter Attic form; it did, however, blossom forth with turgid fruit in the archaizing period of the so-called Second Sophistic at the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. Our ancient testimony for the characteristics of Asianism comes mostly from an abridged Latin edition by Rutilius Lupus of Gorgias the Younger's (not to be confused with Gorgias of Leontini) work 'On Figures.' Hegesias himself was much censured in antiquity, which apparently saw in his historical writings a perfect canon of all that is tasteless and unscientific. Dionysius of Halicarnassus states (*de Comp.* 4) that he was the high priest of frivolous idiocy, and his stylistic manner he characterizes as a bastard mixture of effeminacy and petty pomposity; Longinus (3.2) considered that Hegesias and writers of his ilk were mere pranksters; and Cicero (*Brutus* 286) impatiently dismisses Hegesias' inflated delusion that he was an Atticist next to whom the true writers of Attic were nothing more than country bumpkins (*agrestis*). EBH

HELIODORUS of Arabia. A 3rd-century (A.D.) sophist about whose teaching little is known. Caracalla honored him (212) by sending him on an embassy to the emperor's court. After the emperor's death (217), he was exiled to an unknown island, but was later restored and lived in Rome 230-38. RWS

HELIODORUS, C. AVIDIUS. A 2nd-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric and private secretary to Hadrian. He was a contemporary and rival of Dionysius of Miletus who once told Heliodorus, "The emperor can give you money and honor, but he cannot make you an orator." He may be the same as Heliodorus of Syria whose son attempted to usurp the purple in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and who because of his rhetorical ability was made prefect of Egypt. Tenny Frank (*Class. Phil.*, xv [1920], 393) believes him identical with Apollodorus of Pergamum, mentioned in Horace. RWS

HERACLEIDES of Lycia. Fl. 2nd century A.D. He taught rhetoric in Athens and later in Smyrna. In the former city he studied under Adrian, Chrestus, and perhaps Aristocles of Pergamum. Though he held a chair of rhetoric, professional jealousy of contemporaries in the Second Sophistic forced him out and he traveled to Rome and later to Smyrna. In Asia Minor he enjoyed great popularity both in and out of the classroom. His students came from Ionia, Lydia, and Phrygia, and some even from Egypt and the Orient. What he lacked in natural ability, he largely made up for by hard, prodigious work. On one occasion stage fright before Emperor Severus broke him, resulting in the removal of his tax-free status. Nonetheless, his success and popularity brought him wealth so that at his death his daughter and slaves inherited an estate (he had named it "Rhetoric") worth ten talents. His huge appetite seems to have produced no ill effects. His volume editing Nicetes' speeches shows an unusually restrained treatment.

RWS

HERACLIDES PONTICUS. A Greek philosopher with Academic leanings, he was born sometime around 380 B.C. in Asia Minor. He studied at Athens under both Plato and Aristotle. Heraclides composed some sixty works dealing with many subjects; most important for the history of rhetoric are treatises he wrote on rhetoric and poetic. One infers that he saw a very close connection between the two, for Philodemus attests to the fact that Heraclides, teaching that persuasion is a proper function of poetry, uses many of the terms technically applicable to rhetoric in his discussion of poetic. He is the first known of many ancients to have written a work 'On Etymology,' and it seems to have been based on systematic principles later elaborated and perfected by the great Alexandrian age of lexicography. Only a few fragments and extracts of Heraclides' writings are now extant.

EBH

HERMAGORAS. A 2nd-century (A.D.) writer on stasis, he is not to be confused with his earlier namesake from Temnos to whom the younger was distantly related. Of his life and times little is known, though he appears to be posterior to Lollianus of Ephesus. Hermogenes of Tarsus and Minucianus take notice of him, so he perhaps flourished ca. 150. He may have written an *Art of Rhetoric* but the assertion rests on shaky ground.

RWS

HERMAGORAS of Temnos. Fl. ca. 150 B.C. Little is known about his life; and his works, though they exercised a profound influence on succeeding rhetoricians, are lost. His system can be reconstructed from quotations of later authors, especially Cicero (*De Inventione*) the author of *Ad Herennium*, and Quintilian.

Hermagoras devoted particular attention to invention as applied to the political question. This was divided into two classes, theses and hypotheses. The thesis is a question which does not involve definite individuals (e.g., Does wealth beget arrogance?), while the hypothesis dealt with specific individuals and times (e.g., Did Orestes murder his mother?). Hypotheses were subdivided into questions of fact and questions of law. For each of these questions Hermagoras provided a four point check list to determine its status, or point at issue. Accordingly, the status for the question of fact is (1) whether the crime was actually committed, (2) whether the crime corresponds to the charge, (3) whether there was justification for the act, or (4) whether the opponent has the right to prosecute or the jury to decide. A similar list of criteria was constructed for the question of law. Hermagoras further subdivided each point (with a marked preference for the four-fold division) to such an extent that Cicero and Tacitus acknowledged the sterility of such ramifications. Nevertheless, his system appealed to the rhetoricians' fondness for categories and found a lasting place in the later handbooks.

GOR

HERMOCRATES of Phocis. A handsome, charming rhetorician of the 3rd century A.D. He studied under C. Rufinus of Smyrna and later excelled in invention, arrangement, and delivery in some excellent simulated arguments. Against his will he married the unattractive daughter of Antipater the Syrian but later dissolved the marriage. He was the great-grandson of Polemon and grandson of the sophist Attalus. By the time of Philostratus (who praised him highly) eight or ten MSS survived of Hermocrates. He died before the age of 30, early in the 3rd century.

RWS

HERMOGENES of Tarsus. A 2nd-century (A.D.) Greek rhetorician, his place in the history of rhetoric rests on his writing the first complete school-manual on the constituents of rhetoric in Greek. His work consists of five treatises

carrying titles which can be translated as follows: (1) *Elementary Exercises*, (2) *On Status*, (3) *On Invention*, (4) *On Qualities of Style*, and (5) *On the Pattern for Rhetorical Effectiveness*.

The best known Latin translation of the *Elementary Exercises* (*Progymnasmata*) is that of Priscian who taught Latin in Constantinople about 515. This translation was one of the most popular schoolbooks of its time and its vogue continued through the Middle Ages into the Renaissance. An English translation of the *Exercises* appears in C. S. Baldwin's *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* [1928]. Latin translations of the other four treatises were published during the Renaissance; there are no translations of these works into any modern language.

The Greek texts of Hermogenes' works are among those included in the original *Rhetores Graeci* published in two volumes by the Aldine Press at Venice in 1508. The complete Greek text of the rhetoric (excluding the *Exercises*) was published in Paris as early as 1530 and 1544. An all-Latin version was published with the *Exercises* of Aphthonius (not with those of Hermogenes) at Venice in 1539, and with Hermogenes' *Exercises* at Basle (date uncertain); the Greek text, again excluding the *Exercises*, was printed in Strassburg in 1555-58 and, again, with a Latin translation (and commentary for each work except *On Stases*) by Sturm in 1570-71 and in Geneva with a Latin translation and commentary by Laurentius in 1614. (Collections of the British Museum and of the Bibliothèque Nationale include most of the above texts, and one or more editions of Hermogenes are to be found in the rare book collections of any first-rate library.)

The complete works of Hermogenes are available in the following modern editions: *Hermogenis opera*, ed. Hugo Rabe in *Rhetores Graeci* (Vol. VI; Teubner, 1913); *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Leonard Spengle (Vol. II; Teubner, 1854), 1-18 and 131-456; *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Christian Walz (Vol. I Cotta, 1832) 1-54, and (Vol. III; Cotta, 1834), 1-445.

Some indication of the acceptance of Hermogenes in the Renaissance is seen in the fact that, by the end of the 1530's, the Cambridge Statutes required the lecturer on rhetoric to teach Quintilian, Hermogenes, or some of the rhetorical works of Cicero. In 1549, the Cambridge professor of dialectics and rhetoric was to use the *Elenchi* of Aristotle, the

Topica of Cicero, and the works of Quintilian and Hermogenes. Among the rhetoricians recommended by the 1555 Oxford Statutes were Aristotle, Cicero, Hermogenes, and Quintilian.

If we accept Hermogenes' rhetoric for what it is, a school textbook written in the heyday of the Second Sophistic preoccupation with ornamentation and virtuosity, the emphasis on verbal machinery and mechanical classifications is readily understood. Whatever its flaws, the rhetoric of Hermogenes remains the first fairly well-balanced treatment of all the constituents of rhetoric in a "complete textbook" which saw considerable service in the schools of his own day and in those of later centuries.

RN

HIERIUS of Syria. Of unknown times, but antecedent to Augustine who dedicated his *De Pulchro et Apto* to him. Augustine, our only source, did not know him but was impressed both with speeches he read of Hierius and the good reports of his teaching. He was a learned and effective Latin speaker, although Greek was his native tongue.

RWS

HIMERIUS. The son of Ameinias, he was born in Bithynia ca. 315. He studied in Athens under Prohaeresius whom he rivalled, and later taught there for fifteen years until Julian ascended the throne. He left Athens in 362 seeking the patronage of Julian then in Antioch. Enroute he delivered some of his embellished speeches. When Prohaeresius died in 368 he returned to Athens to teach; the city later elevated him to the coveted chair of rhetoric, paying his salary. He held the position with honor for years until his death (from epilepsy?) sometime before 395. He trained a number of 4th-century notables among whom were Gregory Nazianzus and Basil the Great. Thirty-four of his seventy-five orations have survived, twenty-three complete. A number of these orations indicate the nature of 4th-century rhetorical training. His style was highly Asianic. With Priscus he represents the last days of the Athenian school of sophistry.

TO

HIPPIAS of Elis. A contemporary of Socrates, he was one of the sophists, or professors, who in the latter half of the 5th century B.C. toured Greece delivering lectures and teaching men how to advance themselves by the use of oratory. Like

other sophists, Hippias collected handsome fees for these performances. He was the first among the Greeks to embody the ideal of universal learning and wisdom, and his own scholarly-intellectual activity embraced such varied fields as ethics, physics, astronomy, mythology, history, syllable studies, meaning of words, orthography, and mnemonics. The interest of this self-claimed polymath in mnemonics led him probably to devise a system by which speakers could be helped in memorizing and organizing their speeches. His own memory was said to have been phenomenal. As did other sophists like Gorgias, Hippias, on request, spoke before panhellenic gatherings on any of the subjects that he had prepared, and then invited his audience to interrogate him on whatever points they desired. His style was lucid and organized, eschewing poetical terms and flatulent ornamentation. Cicero (*de Orat.* III.127) and Quintilian (XII.xi.21) report that Hippias, a strong believer in self-sufficiency, made his own clothes, and Plato, from whose dialogues we derive much information about Hippias, represents him as being a rather vain and arrogant man.

EBH

HISPO, CORNELIUS. A witty 1st-century (A.D.) declaimer and probably a teacher of rhetoric, a sample of whose speaking Seneca represents with an excerpt (*Controv.* xiii).

RWS

HORTENSIUS, HORTALUS QUINTUS. An older contemporary of Cicero, he was born in 114 B.C. Until eclipsed by the rise of his younger rival for eminence in the Forum, he was the greatest orator of his period. A fairly clear picture of his oratorical achievement emerges from the pages of Cicero's *Brutus*. At the age of nineteen Hortensius acquitted himself brilliantly when delivering a speech in the Forum in the presence of the consuls. His forensic career, dating from this event, owed its success to consummate talent and ambitious exercise; in later years the power of his oratory declined because, as Cicero says (*Brutus* 320), he failed to practice with the same strict severity that he had in his youth. Cicero further attributes (*Brutus* 325f.) his falling off to the fact that his style was Asiatic (for a brief characterization of Asianism, see entry under Hegesias of Magnesia), and though an Asiatic style might suit a youthful speaker, for Hortensius to

employ it as an old man was a serious error; for it lacked the dignity and solemnity that should mark old age. Hortensius was gifted with a sweetly melodious (*canora et suavis*) voice that was at the same time polished (*erudita*) and worthy of either a Greek or a Roman audience (*Romanis Graecisque auribus digna*). His memory, so important for an orator, was prodigious; it was said that he could repeat verbatim not only his own speeches, but also those of his opponents. His orations, spoken with energetic excitement, were noted for ornamental elegance, judicious arrangement and verbal richness. While delivering a speech Hortensius gesticulated expressively with his hands; in fact, Cicero felt (*Brutus* 303) that the bodily motions accompanying Hortensius' words were excessive for an orator, and Gellius (I.v.2) reports that he was censured as if he were an actor. He acquired a reputation in particular for the studied care which he expended on his *partitiones* (the *partitio* is that section of an oration in which the speaker specifies the points at issue in the case and those agreed upon by both sides, and programmatically informs the court of what he will say in the rest of the speech). Among the many speeches of Hortensius was the case for the defense in the celebrated trial of Verres, in which Cicero successfully represented the prosecution. Hortensius also published a work 'Commonplaces.' He died in 50 B.C.

EBH

HYPERIDES. Born in 390 B.C., Hyperides lived in the great age of Athenian oratory and was later included in the canon of the Ten Attic Orators. As a logographer he wrote speeches for clients. He was also actively involved in the politics of the period, being of a staunchly anti-Macedonian persuasion. In an age in which bribery of politicians was not uncommon he apparently avoided incurring such a charge; his private life, however, was said to have been not beyond reproach, for he enjoyed the favors of numerous courtesans (of whom he defended some in legal proceedings) and was in general devoted to a pursuit of the available pleasures (cf. Quintilian XII.x.22: *plus indulsit voluptati*). He was on good terms with his more famous contemporary Demosthenes almost all of his life; for only a brief period in old age did the two fall out with each other, but were reconciled before being executed in 322 B.C. because of their strong opposition to the cause of Macedonia. Hyperides was very gifted as a speaker. His style was, like that of Lysias, to become a paragon of the

best Attic. In particular the Rhodian school of rhetoric, in its rejection of the bombast of the Asiatic style, favored his speeches as models for students to imitate. Especially characteristic of his style was great simplicity (Longinus 34.2), naturalness (Cicero *Brutus* 36), charm (Quintilian X.i.77, Longinus 34.2), sharpness (Cicero *de Orat.* III.28, Quintilian X.i.77) and refined polish (Cicero *de Orat.* I.58). In antiquity seventy-seven speeches were assigned to his authorship, but little remains today; only one oration ('In Defense of Euxenippus') is fully extant, and sizable fragments survive of five others, among them the epideictic 'Funeral Oration' (delivered 322 B.C.).

EBH

IATROCLES (PATROCLES). Of unknown date, though later than Hermagoras to whom Iatrocles was probably indebted for his tripartite division of *status*: conjectural, definitive, and qualitative. He defined rhetoric, in language reminiscent of Aristotle: the power to discover what is persuasive in speech (Quintilian, II.xv.16).

RWS

ISAEUS. One of the ten canonical Attic orators, Isaeus was born perhaps a decade or more before 400 B.C. He was a pupil of Isocrates and later counted Demosthenes, the greatest of the Greek orators, among his own pupils. Of the sixty-four speeches ascribed to him by antiquity, twelve are today extant, in addition to some fragments; of the twelve, eleven orations deal with cases of inheritance. The problems which confronted Isaeus as a logographer, or professional speech writer, were of a highly technical nature, insofar as the intricacies of Athenian testamentary law were not likely to be familiar to the average litigant. Isaeus thus offered his clients not only the benefits of his rhetorical training for composing a piece of oratorical persuasion, but also his highly specialized legal knowledge. He had a reputation for a certain craftiness and subtlety; the glib logic, not to mention his reliance on probability when necessary, of some of his arguments would seem to account for this judgment. Moralistic considerations were apparently not of prime concern to him, but rather the objective of effecting persuasion in an audience. In addition to being a successful practitioner of oratory, he also taught rhetoric and left behind some *technai* (manuals), among which was a work on figures. The essentially unperiodic style

of Isaeus' compositions does not reflect the studied lucidity or gracefulness of his older contemporary Lysias. He died some time after 350 B.C.

EBH

ISIDORUS of Pergamum. A 1st-century (B.C.) rhetorician about whom little is known. He antedates (or at least is contemporaneous with) Athenodorus the Stoic, who expunged certain passages from Isidorus' works; the passages were later restored to their rightful places.

RWS

ISOCRATES. Isocrates was born in Athens in 436 B.C. to a father whose wealth saw to the son's education. Among the teachers of Isocrates were such leading sophists as Protagoras, Prodicus, and Gorgias. In consequence of the Peloponnesian War Isocrates' father lost his wealth, and the son was thus forced to make a living for himself. This he did by becoming a professional speech writer (logographer) for clients in the law courts (Cicero *Brutus* 48), but by the end of the first decade of the 4th century B.C. he had abandoned that pursuit in favor of opening a school. From the school of this "father of eloquence" (Cicero *de Orat.* II.10) the ranking orators of the century, as Cicero says (*de Orat.* II.94), "came forth like the true chieftains from the Trojan horse." The home of Isocrates became for Greece a "school and workshop of eloquence" (Cicero *Brutus* 32), and his ability as a teacher is amply attested by both Cicero (*de Orat.* III.36, 59, *Orator* 40) and Quintilian (II.viii.11). Isocrates taught rhetoric, but it was rather a morally aware rhetoric placed in the service of the individual's general culture and learning (*philosophia*) than that variety of the earliest sophists which had emphasized political expediency. Exercise in composition was the pedagogical technique in fashion at the school, for Isocrates believed that by direction and guidance the talented student could be made to develop his native ability to the utmost (Cicero *de Orat.* III.35f., *Brutus* 204, Quintilian II.viii.11). Cicero claims (*de Orat.* III.173) that he was the chief teacher of metrical, or rhythmical, prose; his instruction in that aspect of style bespeaks the influence of Gorgias on Isocrates, as does his isocolic and antithetical style. Aristotle (*Rhet.* III.ix.7), who in general quotes liberally from Isocrates in demonstrating points, gives as his example of a certain type of periodic style a passage from Isocrates; Dionysius of Hali-

carnassus (*de Dem.* 3ff.) considers Isocrates a representative of the 'middle' style; and Longinus (38.2) correctly (cf. *Isoc. Paneg.* 8) makes the point that Isocrates endeavored to say everything in an amplificatory fashion (*auxétikôs*). Cicero (*de Orat.* III.28) and Quintilian (X.i.108) mention the pleasant charm (*suavitas, iucunditas*) of his style. At X.i.79 Quintilian reports: "Polished in every kind of style, ornamental, and more suited for the contests of the wrestling school than for those of the battle field, he sought out all stylistic graces . . . , he had facility in 'invention,' he showed concern for what was morally fine, and in actual composition he was so fastidious that his extreme care was charged against him." The stylistic influence of Isocrates on Latin prose is best seen in the works of Cicero.

Isocrates' forte was the epideictic oration, for after his earlier contact with judicial oratory (for which he was by nature unsuited), he devoted himself to that genre—and Aristotle apparently saw much to recommend Isocrates' command of it (cf. *Rhet.* III.xiv.1f., xvii.11). Isocrates, great and accomplished writer though he was, did not actively involve himself as an orator in the world of affairs, but "avoided the limelight of the forum" (Cicero *Brutus* 32) and "had prepared himself for the lecture hall rather than the court" (Quintilian X.i.79). Longinus (4.2) ridicules Isocrates for reportedly having spent ten years (cf. Quintilian X.iv.4) in the careful writing and fastidious revision of his *Panegyricus*; it was a luxury no practicing orator could have afforded! Aside from an 'ars' (manual) which circulated in antiquity under the name of Isocrates and whose authenticity was seriously questioned (Cicero *de Inv.* II.ii.7, Quintilian II.xv.4), we know of no exclusively theoretical work by Isocrates; his various thoughts on the theory of oratory, and on education in general, do, however, come to light in a great number of passages scattered throughout his speeches. Of some sixty compositions, rightly or wrongly ascribed to Isocrates in antiquity, twenty-one speeches are extant, and of these six are forensic, the rest essentially political, educational and/or epideictic; we also possess nine letters written by him. Isocrates died, as did the last hope of the true political autonomy for Greece that he had championed, in 338 B.C. (A good summary of Isocrates' important political position of nationalistic panhellenism, as well as his relationship to Plato

and the Academy, which represented a differing theory of education, will be found in George Kennedy's *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* [1963], pages 174ff.).

EBH

JULIANUS. Of uncertain date but prior to Emperor Hadrian. He authored a detailed alphabetical lexicon of the Ten Attic Orators.

RWS

JULIANUS of Caesarea. Lived ca. 275-ca. 340 A.D. Little is known of his early life but he began teaching in Athens by 330 where he had earlier founded a school of rhetoric to which young men streamed from throughout the Roman world. He seems to have been an able teacher, for among those who sat at his feet were Prohaeresius, Hephaestion, Epiphanius of Syria, and Diophantus of Arabia. In Julianus' house, graced with portraits of his favorite pupils, his students, later esteemed wherever they traveled, read aloud in an auditorium of polished marble.

His importance is partly indicated by the rivalry which marked his life. There was great jealousy between the students of the Cappadocian and those of Apsines of Lacedaemon, but even more between "Town and Gown," for Julian dared not venture out to declaim; hence his efforts were unconcerned with swaying people, rather with winning fame and applause. We know further of his importance in Athens, for Eunapius, our source for him, calls him a tyrant there. At his death, a number of teachers stepped into the position he had held: Prohaeresius, Hephaestion, Epiphanius, and Diophantus.

RWS

JULIUS SEVERIANUS, A. A 2nd-century (A.D.) rhetorical theorist who flourished under Hadrian, he wrote a summary treatise on the precepts of rhetoric as applicable to lawyers, in which he recognized three kinds of status (conjectural, definitive, and qualitative) and also discussed the canonical duties of the orator and the parts of an oration.

RWS

JULIUS GENITOR. Late 1st and early 2nd-century (A.D.) rhetorical teacher in Rome and friend of Pliny (the Younger). Though known as a strict disciplinarian and man of moral austerity both in and out of the classroom, he was a conscientious teacher, taking to heart his students' education.

RWS

JULIUS FRONTINUS. One of the 3rd-century (A.D.) rhetorical teachers of Alexander Severus. RWS

JULIUS GRANIANUS. A little known early 3rd-century (A.D.) Roman teacher of rhetoric whose ability is attested by the fact that he taught the prince Alexander Severus, and that his written declamations were read in the classroom down to the time of Aelius Lampridius (4th century). None of his works has come down to us. RWS

JULIUS POILUX. A 2nd-century (A.D.) contemporary of Athendorus. His father, a competent critic and grammarian, taught him at home before Julius studied in Athens under Adrian. Here he opened a private school where he taught both rhetoric and grammar, and later (ca. 178) accepted Emperor Commodus' appointment to the Athenian chair of rhetoric. The nomination, so Philostratus tells us, was due not to Julius' skill so much as to the beauty of his voice. He taught and strongly influenced Antipater and, while gifted in nature, seems to have possessed only average speaking ability. His declamations and speeches have not come down to us, but his *Thesaurus*, edited and abridged since medieval times, contains in ten books an index of Greek words, synonyms, and especially technical rhetorical terms. RWS

JULIUS RUFINIANUS. An unoriginal writer of an unknown time. His *Figures of Thought and Style* sought to do two things: first, to carry forward an earlier work by Aquila Romanus of the same title; and second, drawing heavily from Vergil's *Aeneid* (and thus the examples are not strictly rhetorical, but rather poetic), it sought to name those figures used by others. Among those of thought he includes the introduction, censure, and personification. Among figures of style he mentions prolepsis, epanalepsis, diaeresis, metathesis, to name four. RWS

JULIUS GABINIANUS, SEX. A declaimer who flourished in the Flavian dynasty (69-96 A.D.), was a native of Gaul and taught rhetoric there. Messala in Tacitus' *Dialogue on Oratory* speaks highly of this man whose great eloquence was considered exemplary for students. RWS

JULIUS TITIANUS. A 4th-century (A.D.) writer on rhetoric who also served as a later source for C. Julius Victor; father of the rhetorician Titianus who taught the younger Maximinus. His *Themata* provided his students subjects for declamations. Jerome called him an eloquent man.

RWS

JUNIUS OTHO. A 1st-century (B.C.-A.D.) teacher of rhetoric, pleader, senator, and later praetor (in 22 A.D.). His origin and early life are as obscure as the names of his later pupils. As a teacher in Rome he seems to have made a speciality of *colores*, writing four books on them. He appears to have advanced steadily in the eyes of the world after establishing himself as a rhetorician, until, through the influence of L. Aelius Seianus, he was made praetor.

RWS

LACTANTIUS FIRMIANUS. Lived ca. 260-330 A.D. Was the "Christian Cicero" whom Diocletian called (ca. 301) to teach rhetoric in the eastern capital, Nicomedia. He studied rhetoric under Arnobius in Sicca (Africa), but taught most of his life in Nicomedia. In later years he journeyed to Gaul where he instructed Prince Crispus, Constantine's son. In Nicomedia, with its predominantly Greek population, he, a Latin rhetorician, fared poorly. But rather than redirect his talents into politics or other fields, he completely abandoned his profession. About this time he became a Christian, which step may have further helped to impoverish him, for Jerome says he lacked students. He thereupon devoted himself to writing, mostly on the Christian religion. His *Divine Institutes*, while not primarily written for speakers, deals extensively with *inventio* (philosophy is what every Christian should know), *elocutio* (while it is not nearly so important as content, elegant and distinct style can make truth more forceful), and *pronuntiatio* (eloquence seeks to display itself to please in evil things; or again, speakers of moderate ability in delivery have overcome, because of their superior content, orators of great ability). Thus, his treatment of the canons of rhetoric is largely limited to *inventio*. His only strictly rhetorical work was a naive bit on the voice (*De Voce*), which is concerned entirely with the production of vocal sounds. He avers that he never engaged in public speaking, but by this he means oratory of display, for in fact he was a powerful speaker.

RWS

LATRO, M. PORCIUS. A 1st-century (B.C.) rhetorician who was the first Latin teacher of rhetoric to achieve a name for himself. Born in Corduba, the birthplace of the two Senecas, he went with the Elder to Rome in 42 B.C. to study rhetoric with Marullus, spending most of his life there. A brilliant student, he later opened his own school in Rome to which young men came, deserting other rhetoricians in order to hear him. While he was a powerful declaimer with a strong voice—he once declaimed on a single topic for three days—he seems to have had only moderate success as a teacher. In his school he declaimed, but seldom would allow his students to do so, asserting that he was not a professor who taught, but one to be imitated. He did not excel as a popular speaker beyond the walls of his school, but was so admired by those who came to hear that they were largely non-critical of his classroom work. It is said that once he was asked to speak in Spain in the forum on behalf of a relative, but became so ill at ease in the open that he asked the judge to remove the case to within the four walls of the basilica. He possessed an astonishing memory, and worked so hard that his industry finally weakened him physically. Seneca includes frequent excerpts of his speaking. He committed suicide in 3 or 4 B.C. RWS

LESBOCLES of Mytilene. A 1st-century (B.C.-A.D.) orator and teacher of rhetoric in his own school, he was hailed by Seneca the Elder as famous and a man of genius in his heyday. His career was stunted because of failure to recover emotionally from the death of his son. He finally closed his school completely. He and others rivalled Porcius Latro. RWS

LESBONAX of Mytilene. Lived 2nd century A.D. A rhetorician of the Second Sophistic period, who wrote political declamations in the manner of Isocrates. Three of the discourses, written in Attic style, have survived. RWS

LIBANIUS of Antioch. Lived 314-ca. 395 A.D. Having little education other than what he himself had acquired, he went to Athens in 336. There he formally enrolled as a pupil of Diophantus of Arabia but being not too pleased with his teacher he continued his efforts at self education. Upon leaving Athens he taught for about ten years at Constantinople.

From there he was driven to Nicaea, then Nicomedia, and finally recalled to Constantinople. He left the imperial city in 354 on the plea of ill health, and returning to his native city for the next forty years conducted a school of rhetoric, a school which became the most famous and frequented of its day. Libanius may have lived as late as 395, but the date of his death is uncertain.

A sizable collection of Libanius' works remains, consisting of sixty-five orations, some sixteen hundred letters, declamations, and preliminary exercises. These provide a considerable insight into the rhetorical training of the times. Libanius admired Aristides, the imitator of Demosthenes, and therefore his style was somewhat more Attic than that of his contemporaries. Through the years he trained above two hundred known students. Among these may have been the well-known churchmen, Chrysostom, Evagrius, Theodore, Maximus, and Basil the Great, though in some cases the evidence is uncertain.

TO

LICYMNIUS of Chios. Greek dithyrambic poet and rhetorician of the 5th-4th century B.C., teacher of Polus of Agrigentum. He appears to have been interested chiefly in the study of language, and to have taught definitions of verbal categories as an aid to elegant diction.

PDA

LOLLIANUS of Ephesus. A mid-2nd century (A.D.) popularizer in Athens of the Second Sophistic. A native of Ephesus, he studied under the Assyrian Isaeus before emigrating to Athens where he served both as the first occupant of the important chair of rhetoric and as an army general. As a teacher, he declaimed in classes for his students, demanding and getting big fees for his systematic instruction. Among his pupils were Theodotus and Philagrus of Cilicia. His impromptu speaking was rich in proofs and style. In commemoration of his work in Athens two statues were erected in his honor. While his rhetorical works have perished, fragments suggest he wrote on stasis, an Art of Rhetoric, on style, and on the introduction and narration of the speech. The latter was probably originally part of his Art.

RWS

LONGINUS, CASSIUS. Lived ca. 213-273 A.D. A famous philologist and philosopher. He received instruction in philosophy mainly at the Neo-Platonic school of Ammonius

Saccas. He was also an enthusiastic pupil and friend of the pagan Alexandrian scholar Origenes. After the completion of his studies and travels he taught philosophy in Athens where Porphyryon was one of his pupils. Later he obtained a position as teacher in Greek language and literature and as adviser of Zenobia in Palmyra. He persuaded the queen to declare her independence from Rome and is thought to have written a haughty letter to the emperor Aurelian. These actions brought about his death.

Although Longinus wrote philosophical treatises, his exceptional talents lay in the realm between rhetoric and philosophy—literary aesthetics. Several non-extant works attributed to him were concerned with the Homeric poems. He also compiled lexica and epitomes, and wrote commentaries. The most significant work was the *Philological Lectures*, which encompassed at least twenty-one books and from which Longinus received the title "Philologian." The extant works of Longinus are a portion of a commentary to *Hephaestion*, a letter preserved in Porphyryon's *Life of Plotinus*, and fragments of an *Art of Rhetoric*. It is doubtful that Longinus wrote the treatise *On Great Writing*.

EBH—GOR

"LONGINUS." An unknown author of the treatise commonly called *On the Sublime* but better rendered *On Great Writing*. The date of composition is disputed, although much of the evidence, scanty as it is, points to the 1st century A.D. Dedicated to a young Roman, Terentianus Postumius, it was inspired by a tract of Caecilius of Calacte on the same subject. "Longinus" asserts that great writing is achieved through five different means, two of which, vigorous mental conception and inspired emotion, are innate; the other three, proper use of figures of speech, noble diction, and careful arrangement of words, can be learned. The central theme is interrupted by three digressions—one on Homer with a comparison of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; the second, a comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero; and the third, a discussion as to which is preferable, impeccable mediocrity or faulty genius. The last chapter seeks to explain the decline of eloquence; moral decadence, rather than loss of individual freedom, is the chief cause. Although it is estimated that only two thirds of *On Great Writing* have sur-

vived (there are some rather large lacunae in the text), the work must be considered one of the finest examples of literary criticism for antiquity. It exhibits, together with great learning, remarkable insight and originality. GOR

LUCIAN. Lived ca. 125-192 A.D. Satirist and author of *Dialogues of the Dead*, he lectured on rhetoric in Greece and Italy, but it was in Gaul that he received the widest acclaim. About 165 he abandoned rhetoric, feeling it too artificial and pretentious, and found philosophy more to his liking—a step he took at the urging of Nigrinius, the philosopher. It was because of his success as a rhetorician that he was able to assume the contemplative and leisurely life of a philosopher in Athens and become an anti-rhetorician. Although he makes many admiring references to Herodes the Athenian, there is no evidence that Lucian ever studied under him. His *Professor of Rhetoric*, written in satiric Attic style, was surely composed during the reign of Commodus (180-192) and after the author had abandoned the field of speech. Treating the three canons, *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio*, he emphasizes the importance of subject matter for the young man aspiring to be an orator. "How does one become an orator?" he asks. It is simple. The first requirements are presumption and impudence; there is no place for decency and modesty: they may even detract. Further, get a healthy set of lungs and much confidence. Wear fine clothes, have an entourage of servants following you, and always carry a book in your hands. In a day or two one can be the complete orator (#6)! Forget about reading the ancients (Demosthenes, Isocrates, or Plato); read only the moderns. And never write down what you want to say; extemporaneous (impromptu) speaking can excuse your faults (#20). In private life, gambling, adultery, and homosexuality can all be yours—or at least you can boast as though they are. Act effeminate. If one behaves thus, he will in short order be the orator (#24). RWS

LUCIOLUS. A 4th-century (A.D.) tutor (of rhetoric) and later colleague of Ausonius, he was skillful and eloquent in speech, courteous to others, and gentle in nature. RWS

LYCON. During his lengthy tenureship (270-226 B.C.) as head of the Academy Lycon managed to allow a period of intellectual sterility to set in, and as, apparently, a dedicated

voluptuary he encouraged an atmosphere of luxuriousness to prevail in it. His place in the history of rhetoric is of minimal importance. In a Latin translation by Rutilius Lupus we do have a rather substantial extract from a work of his which seems to have been akin in spirit and tone to the 'Characters' of Theophrastus. Lycon was known for the elaborately Asiatic affinities of his style, and according to Cicero (*de Fin.* V.13) he was "rich in composition, but rather insipid in subject matter."

EBH

LYSIAS. Lived 445-ca. 362 B.C. Although Lysias, born of a wealthy Syracusan father, never officially became an Athenian citizen, he was to become in later ages a model of a type of Athenian, or Attic, oratorical style (cf. Cicero *Brutus* 285). During the years (429-413) that he lived at Thurii in Southern Italy he may well have received rhetorical training from the Sicilian Tisias. Lysias' political stand was violently anti-oligarchic, and during the reign of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens in 404 B.C. he was almost killed by their agents. His brother Polemarchus, less fortunate than Lysias, was executed; this incident was the basis for Lysias' most celebrated speech, *Against Eratosthenes*, in which he attacks Eratosthenes and the Thirty, demanding death of the former for his part in bringing about the death of Polemarchus. This speech, like many of his others, is a showcase of the argument from probability: rapid reading of the speech induces conviction of the heinous guilt of Eratosthenes, but under careful analysis (such as was not allowed the original auditors) its proof structure crumbles. But *Against Eratosthenes*, delivered in 403 B.C., gained Lysias great repute, and he henceforth devoted himself to a successful career as logographer. The style of Lysias, showing no small debt to Gorgias, was nevertheless famous in antiquity for its unadorned simplicity and elegance (Cicero *Brutus* 35, *de Orat.* III.28, Quintilian X.i.78); both Romans considered him a virtually perfect orator, whose style was, according to the latter, more like a pure spring than a full river. The anonymous (Longinus) writer 'On the Sublime' ranks him with Isocrates and Demosthenes among the three greatest representatives of Greek oratory; though Cicero recommends his grace (*Brutus*: 64; cf. Quintilian XII.x.24), he yet notes that there was no lack of muscular power (*lacerti*) in his prose. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says

(*de Dem.* 2) that Lysias is a representative of the plain style, and Quintilian (IX.iv.17) calls its texture simple and finely honed (*rasum*). Tradition reports that Lysias had offered to Socrates a speech which he had written in his defense, but that Socrates refused to use it. As renowned as his style was Lysias' ability in 'ethopoiia,' or suiting the speech to the character of the client who would deliver it, so that it would seem to have been spoken spontaneously and thus gain a measure of good will from the audience. The finest example of such 'ethopoiia' is undoubtedly the amusing and speciously argued case of the accused welfare-chiseler, *For the Cripple*. The orations of Lysias are in general delightful to read, both for the purity and graciousness of the Greek and vignette-like sketches of contemporary Athenian life and characters. Lysias also acquired a reputation for his exemplary *narrationes* (the *narratio* is that part of the speech in which are outlined the antecedents leading up to the case at hand). Antiquity recorded four hundred twenty-five speeches in Lysias' name, a little more than half of which were of doubtful authenticity. Our modern Oxford Text of the Lysianic corpus contains thirty-five orations, a fair number of which are considered spurious.

EBH

MALCHION. A 3rd-century (A.D.) Christian head of a Greek school of rhetoric in Antioch during the reigns of Claudius and Aurelian. It is not clear whether the school was Christian in which classical literature was taught, or pagan in which Malchion taught after he became a Christian. About 272 he engaged in a religious debate with Paul of Samosata, bishop in Antioch, in which Paul was denounced for heresy. Fragments of the debate, taken down by shorthand writers, were extant in the time of Jerome and Eusebius. Jerome says Malchion most successfully taught rhetoric in Antioch.

RWS

MARCELLINUS. A virtually unknown scholiast on Herodotus (Walz, IV, 39-846), probably dating from the 5th-6th century A.D. While he can hardly have come from Syria, it is uncertain whether he is identical with the biographer of Thucydides. His sources are debated, some writers holding that the sophist Athanasius of Alexandria was chief of those from whom he borrowed.

RWS

MARCOMANNUS. This earliest known writer of Latin with a German name lived sometime between 150 and 350 A.D.; it is not known where or precisely when. He wrote a commentary on Cicero's *De Inventione*, which was used directly by Marius Victorinus, Sulpicius Victor, and Julius Victor and indirectly through some intermediate source by Fortunatianus. He is mentioned or cited by these authors as though a well-known figure and presumably enjoyed some reputation in 4th-century Latin schools.

His commentary was probably written in the form observable in Victorinus' commentary on the *De Inventione*, that is, exegetical comment on individual statements of Cicero was introduced or interspersed with more extended discussions of the topic in hand. The surviving references derive from the latter element. In them Marcomannus reveals that he is following the doctrines associated in Greek rhetoric with the names of Minucianus and Hermogenes though his own Greek source seems to have held a middle position between these two factions. However, Marcomannus' views on the differences between the translativ issue (*translatio*) and the prescription (*praescriptio*) or process involving a demurrer on legal grounds and his list of argumentative topics for the latter case cannot be paralleled exactly from other accounts and suggest that Marcomannus may have taken an independent view of these subjects.

The relics of his commentary can all be found in Halm's *Rhetores Latini Minores* (see the index). The only purportedly verbatim fragment is a close paraphrase of his views on the translativ issue given by Sulpicius Victor (*RLM* pp. 338.31-341.30). Marcomannus relates the translativ issue to the demurrer because both are constructed from the same topics or modes of person, time, place, and manner. Their use in the translativ issue is discussed and illustrated in the traditional way. The demurrer is then distinguished from the translativ issue on the ground that the latter concerns the past, what has been done, the former looks to the future: "should someone ask to enter a plea who is not permitted to do so." (His distinction is peculiar. It is found in the Greek rhetoricians but used rather to differentiate two types of demurrer). The demurrer is then divided into eight topics and illustrated with examples from the common stock of declamatory themes. No other author

except Julius Victor gives a comparable list; this is probably one of the places where Julius, as the title of his work implies, is drawing on Marcomannus. The other fragments in the rhetoricians indicate that Marcomannus added the Hermagorean qualification, "insofar as the condition of the facts and the persons permits," to Cicero's definition of the orator's goal (*De Inv.* 1. 6); and that he had an elaborate system for constructing comparisons (*ratio cinatio*).

In each of these instances we see Marcomannus, as it were, improving upon Cicero by introducing into his commentary material either ignored by or unknown to Cicero which became of great interest to the rhetoricians of the 2nd century after Christ and later. Possibly it was this aspect of his work which appealed to the later Latin rhetoricians and sustained their interest in him.

JJB

MARIUS VICTORINUS, C. A 4th-century (A.D.) African who taught rhetoric at Rome under Constantius and with such success that his statue was erected in the forum of Trajan (Rome). He was converted to Christianity late in life, and when Julian prohibited Christians from teaching literature (362), he closed his school rather than deny his faith. Augustine, who did not know him, speaks of Victorinus as learned in all the liberal arts and was encouraged to take his own stand after learning of his predecessor's public confession of Christianity in Rome. Among his many literary efforts were an annotated translation of Aristotle's *Categories*, an incomplete commentary on Cicero's *Topics*, and an *Art of Grammar*.

RWS

MARTIANUS MINEUS FELIX CAPELLA. A 5th-6th century (A.D.) encyclopaedist whose allegorical work on the marriage of Mercury and Philology in nine books tells us of the wedding at which all the seven liberal arts are in attendance. Though poorly written and ill-arranged, it was popular for many centuries in medieval schools. While he recognizes all five canons, the emphasis in the treatment of rhetoric (Book V) is on *inventio* and *dispositio*, relegating the others to subordinate positions. He (1) is Ciceronian in his ideas, but seems to have drawn heavily from Aquila Romanus; (2) discusses two types of debatable subjects: definite and indefinite questions; and (3) acknowledges

three types of speaking: judicial, deliberative, and demonstrative. While rhetoric to him is still the queen of the arts, she has lost her lofty appearance and great self-confidence. John Scotus and Remigius of Auxerre each composed a commentary on Martianus. RWS

MARTINUS. A 5th-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric in Constantinople. About his life we know little except that the emperor honored him, along with Maximus, with the title, "Count of the First Order" for his long years of service as a sophistic teacher. As the Theodosian Code of 425 required a minimum of twenty years for such a favor, Martinus must have taught for an extended period of time. RWS

MARULLUS. A 1st-century (B.C.) teacher of rhetoric who numbered among his pupils Seneca the Elder and Porcius Latro. He probably came from Corduba but later seems to have taught in Rome. Seneca is our chief source for him and includes excerpts of Marullus' urging Alexander not to sail the seas to conquer new lands, and the Lacedaemonians not to flee in the face of overwhelming odds. RWS

MAXIMUS. A 5th-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric in Constantinople. We know little of him except that, along with Martinus, a contemporary, he was honored by the emperor with the title, "Count of the First Order" for long service as a sophistic teacher. As the Theodosian Code of 425 required a minimum of twenty years for such a favor, he must have taught for an extended period of time. RWS

MENANDER of Laodicea (Lycia). A widely read, 3rd-century (A.D.) interpreter of Demosthenes and commentator on Hermogenes' *Art of Rhetoric* and Minucianus' *Progymasmata*. In his two-part work on epideictic discourses—some have denied his authorship of the second half—he examines various types of eulogy and their style, in addition to indicating something of the speaking habits of his day. RWS

MENECLÉS. A 2nd-1st century (B.C.) talented and original rhetorician from Alabanda. He and his brother Hierocles, both important representatives of Asiatic style,

taught rhetoric in Rhodes to Molon, Apollonius Malacus, and Marc Antony, the last informally. The brothers enjoyed a wide reputation and had many imitators. Cicero thought they were fluent speakers, but criticized them for a lack of variety in style.

RWS

MENEDEMUS. An early 1st-century (B.C.) rhetorician who came to Rome and taught there (97-92) when L. Crassus was at the height of his oratorical power. Cicero, a friend and our only source, says Menedemus argued that ability in rhetoric was possible only after one had achieved a special knowledge of politics. Menedemus seems to have been experienced in both politics and legal pleading. He quarreled with the then current method of teaching students to speak, urging rather that they should spend more time reading the philosophers and less time on the rhetorical manuals.

RWS

MENELAUS of Marathus (Phoenicia). He was a 2nd-century (B.C.) Greek teacher of rhetoric who, as an 'Asiatic' speaker, instructed the Gracchi. He is known only briefly from a note in Cicero. See Diophanes of Mytilene.

RWS

MENIPPUS of Stratonicea (Caria). An eloquent 1st-century (B.C.) teacher of Cicero in the province of Asia, 79-77. Cicero accompanied the "Carian" (so he was nicknamed) and others in travels to Asia, and thought Menippus the most eloquent and Attic speaker in the Asia of his day.

RWS

METRODORUS. A 2nd-century (B.C.) teacher of rhetoric who hailed from Scepsis. Unlike many others interested in philosophy, he forsook it to teach rhetoric. His Asian style and general ability brought him much fame and honor in later life, putting him in contact with a wealthy woman whom he later married. He died on an embassy to Tigranes, king of Armenia. None of his written works has come down to us.

RWS

METROPHANES. A 3rd-century (A.D.) sophist of Phrygia who enjoyed high prestige, he wrote, according to Suidas, a work on speech models, and a work on *status*, in addition

to other rhetorical works. His authority and influence were felt for centuries after his death, primarily because of the interest Sopater and Syrianus showed in him. RWS

METROPHANES. A little known 4th-century (A.D.) writer on rhetoric from Lebadeia (Boeotia) and son of the orator Cornelianus. According to Suidas, he wrote on the character of Plato, declamations, and some panegyrics. RWS

MINERVIUS, ALETHIUS. Some accused Minervius, a 4th-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric in Bordeaux, of starting too early to teach, before he had intellectually and rhetorically matured. In any event, his speaking gave grounds for this judgment. Whether he died early in life or near the height of his career is unknown, but Ausonius speaks of his death as too early. RWS

MINUCIAN the Younger. Fl. 253-268 A.D. A political orator, theorist, and contemporary of the Roman emperor, Gallienus (he should not be confused with Minucian the Elder, rival of Hermogenes and a 2nd-century [A.D.] author), he was born in 230 A.D. in Athens, the son of Nicagoras, an author of rhetorical treatises and a political orator.

The Aristotelian tradition in rhetoric considerably influenced Minucian's rhetorical theory. Consequently, he stood for a substantial rhetoric as opposed to a sophistic rhetoric. Scholars definitely recognize *On Epicheiremes* as Minucian's. This treatise lacks bombast and embellishment; a terse, direct, expository style characterizes his definitions, rules and conclusions. In this work, Minucian treats each of the artistic modes of persuasion (ethical, pathetic, logical), though concentrating upon the logical mode. The treatise is significant since it reveals that at this period in rhetorical history theorists such as Minucian employ the term "epicheiremes" in the Aristotelian sense of "proofs." Minucian divides epicheiremes into examples and enthymematic forms or topics in the same way that Aristotle divides proofs into these forms. The greater part of this work consists largely in listing and developing thirty-five formal topics which resemble those in the second book of Aristotle's

Rhetoric. In developing each of these topics, Minucian refers to forty passages from the works of Aeschines, Demosthenes, and Thucydides.

By equating proof with epicheiremes, Minucian seems to have lost contact with the formal syllogistic base found in earlier rhetorical theory. However, his treatise indicates a practical emphasis on the need to prove a proposition or a premise.

PAM

MNESIPHILUS. Fl. ca. early 5th century B.C. He was said to have been a tutor and instructor of the Athenian statesman Themistocles, whom he taught statesmanship and the art of ruling. He was thought to be a precursor, or the first, of the 'sophists,' for he professed to be teaching a wisdom (*sophia*) derived from Solon. Although it consisted for Mnesiphilus mainly of practical political sagacity, forensic speeches and rules were later connected with it by others, the so-called 'sophists' (cf. Plutarch *Them.* 2).

EBH

MOLO of Rhodes. In the year 87 B.C. Molo, also called Apollonius, arrived in Rome on an embassy from his native Rhodes. During the several years that he remained at Rome his speeches and lectures were heard by a great many Romans, among them the young Cicero. In 78 B.C. the latter sought out Molo in Rhodes and entrusted himself to him, in Quintilian's words (XII.vi.7: *rursus formandum ac velut recoquendum*), "to be, as it were, smelted down and reforged." He found the instruction of Molo excellent, feeling that he had profited greatly from the contact. Cicero in particular approved of his habit of making students practice with real law cases, and not, as was often the case, with fictitious ones. Molo was, in Cicero's estimation, a fine writer and speaker, and Cicero studied with him because of his own general dissatisfaction with the Asiatic rhetors (*Brutus* 316). For Molo, as a Rhodian rhetor, was strongly opposed to the rampant turgidity and bombast of Asianism (see entry under Hegesias of Magnesia for a sketch of Asianism); on technical points the Rhodians were more or less in agreement with the system of Hermagoras, but unlike him they also paid considerable attention to matters of language and style, of which the Attic mode was their highly recommended ideal. Molo, Cicero tells us (*Brutus* 316),

did his best "to curb us when we were excessively redundant and overflowing with a certain abandoned oratorical freedom that is born of youthfulness, as well as to confine us as though we were rivers flowing off beyond our banks." That Molo's stylistic *desideratum* of plain, concise, and pruned language seriously impressed itself upon Cicero may perhaps at times be difficult to demonstrate, but one does feel that the advice was taken to heart by another equally famous pupil of Molo, Julius Caesar. Molo himself composed numerous speeches and theoretical works. He is known also as Apollonius Molon, *q.v.* EBH

NAUSIPHANES of Teos. A Greek philosopher of the late 4th century B.C. A follower of Democritus, but also greatly influenced by the Sophists, he held that rhetoric employs the empirical method of the natural sciences and defended it as a proper pursuit for the wise man. PDL

NEOCLES. A Greek rhetor of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. (exact dates unknown). Virtually the only source for his teachings is a 2nd-century compilation of precepts and definitions applicable to forensic oratory, the so-called *Anonymus Seguerianus*. Neocles and the other authors cited by the *Anonymus* are loosely identified as "Theodoreans"; following Theodorus of Gadara, they viewed the "rules" of rhetoric as flexible generalities, in contradistinction to the dogmatism of their adversaries, the Apollodoreans. Their very pragmatism, however, suggests that they did not form a monochromatic "school" bound together by pious feelings for some list of Theodorean affirmatives.

Apparently Neocles taught a practical method of discourse suitable to the cut-and-thrust of real legal conflict. The evidence of the *Anonymus* puts him in opposition to those who believe that theory is inviolable: he is willing, for example, to place Narration anywhere in a speech, or to omit it entirely, always considering the immediate needs of the case at hand; he requires that the speaker always assess the moods and receptivity of the court, moulding his implementation of classroom rules and definitions accordingly. He does not indeed eschew precise definition and subdivision, but his distinctions are neither vapid, nor merely academic, as can be seen in his analysis of Proof and of Sum-

mations. Whatever his proximate Theodorcan connections, it has been argued (by Volkmann-Hammer) that Neocles' lineage springs more anciently from Aristotle and Eudemus. He quotes both with authority in defining *topoi*. Moreover, as V. points out, the other surviving mention of Neocles (in Planudes' commentary on Hermogenes) appeals to the authority of Neocles' teaching on the same subject, thereby revealing in turn his dependence upon Aristotle. In the view of this writer, his definitions of emotion and of *tekmerion* ("irrefutable sign") are also essentially Aristotelian.

DJS

NEOPTOLEMUS. Greek actor of the 4th century B.C., one of several reputed to have instructed Demosthenes in rhetoric; he is particularly noted as having taught him a number of devices to improve breath-control. See also **ANDRONICUS, POLUS, SATYRUS.**

PDA

NEPOTIANUS. A distinguished rhetorician, grammarian, and philosopher-poet of Bordeaux of unknown time, but antecedent to Ausonius who praises him. In politics, he was prefect of an unknown province and died at the advanced age of ninety.

RWS

NICAGORAS I of Athens. Lived ca. 175-80 to ca. 250 A.D. Was a grandson of Minucianus I and father of Minucianus II. A teacher and epideictic speaker, he held the imperial chair of rhetoric in Athens in 230-38 when Apsines and Philostratus were there.

RWS

NICETES SACERDOS. A 1st-century (A.D.) Greek teacher of rhetoric in Smyrna and a progenitor of Euodius of Smyrna. An orator and lawyer, he was likewise an important representative of the Asian style and has been credited as the founder of the Second Sophistic. Among his pupils were Pliny the Younger and Scopelian of Clazomenae, but like Porcius Latro, Sacerdos seems to have refused to listen to students speak, preferring to lecture on the principles and to declaim, the latter to provide models. When some accused him of fear of speaking in public, away from his classroom, he replied that he feared more a public which praised him than one which condemned him. Seneca and

Philostratus were among those who praised him. Enthusiastic response to his pupils' speaking was reported to have shaken the very walls of Ephesus and Mytilene. He traveled some in Europe at the invitation of Emperor Nerva.

RWS

NICOLAUS of Myra. Lived ca. 410-ca. 518 A.D. A writer on rhetoric who studied under Lachares in Athens and later taught in Constantinople, he wrote an art and declamations, but nothing remains of either. His *Progymnasmata* is extant and more complete than either that of Hermogenes or Aphthonius discussing fables, maxims, refutations, commonplaces, story-telling, eulogies, accusations, as well as including comparisons of Pericles and Demosthenes, Aeschines and Demosthenes, and Pericles and Themistocles—all with the end of aiding the young rhetor to learn to speak better.

RWS

NIGIDIUS FIGULUS, P. A 1st-century (B.C.) respected friend and advisor of Cicero. His work *On Gesture* was little more significant than his rhetorical influence in general which was moderate. He was more important politically, serving in the senate in 63 and as praetor in 58.

RWS

NUMENIUS. Fl. latter half of 1st century A.D. Numenius, a Greek rhetorician, wrote two works on rhetoric which have been printed in the Aldine rhetorical collection.

RWS

ONOMARCHUS of Andros. A 2nd-century (A.D.) mediocre teacher and contemporary of Adrian and Chrestus in Athens. He studied under Herodes but never attained brilliance as a teacher of progymnastic instruction; yet, counters Philostratus, he was not blameworthy either. He died in late middle-age.

RWS

PAMPHILUS. A rhetorician presumably of the fourth century B.C. He is mentioned by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1400a) as the author of a *teche* which dealt with enthymemes.

GOR

PANCRATES. Pancrates, a little known writer on rhetoric of perhaps the early 4th century A.D., may have been the father of Prohaeresius, which, if true, would place him in Constantine's time. He wrote a commentary on the rhetoric of Minucianus.

RWS

PAPIRIUS FABIANUS. A 1st-century (B.C.-A.D.) rhetorician-philosopher who studied rhetoric under Arellius Fuscus and Blandus and philosophy under Sextius, he declaimed from early age, achieving success more from his public appearances than from his theory or teaching. He later abandoned rhetoric for philosophy and in his philosophic school taught the younger Seneca who, along with his father the Elder Seneca, greatly esteemed Fabianus. The Elder has included a sample of Fabianus' declamations, one wherein he urges Alexander not to sail the ocean to conquer new worlds. The Younger Seneca tells us that Fabianus spoke not so much to please as to teach. He probably lived to the close of Tiberius' reign (37).

RWS

(ATTIUS) PATERA. A 4th-century (A.D.) rhetorician, he taught rhetoric in Rome at an advanced age but mostly he instructed in Bordeaux. Ausonius, a younger contemporary, has nothing but praise for him, calling him a "mighty teacher of rhetoricians" who enriched all of Gaul with his prose and poetry. He studied under Agriculus.

RWS

PAUL of Tyre. A 2nd-century (A.D.) author and contemporary of Philo the librarian. Of his *Rhetoric*, progymnasmata, and declamations nothing remains.

RWS

PAUSANIAS. A 2nd-century (A.D.) teacher born in Caesarea (Cappadocia). He studied under and greatly admired Herodes Atticus in Athens and later held a chair there, perhaps 185-90. He moved to Rome and to a more famous chair, occupying it for 190-97 during which time he taught Aelianus Claudius and Aspasius. In his teaching he was an Atticist, speaking, like many Cappadocians, with a strong Greek accent. His declamations have not come down to us. He died in Rome at an advanced age.

RWS

PHILAGRUS of Cilicia. A 2nd-century (A.D.) rhetorician at Athens and Rome. If he is identical with Philager of Cilicia—and he probably is—he studied under Lollianus and after spending much time as a travelling lecturer, settled down at Rome where he accepted a chair of rhetoric. Excitable and hot-tempered early in his career, he was accused of awakening the drowsy student by a brisk slap in the face, but as he mel-

lowed with age, he became more tolerant and was respected both as a teacher and practitioner in handling arguments. He wrote encomia and a declamation which have not survived.

RWS

PHILISCUS the Thessalian. Lived ca. 152-ca. 219 A.D. He studied under Chrestus of Byzantium and later held the municipal chair of rhetoric in Athens from 212-19. Earlier as a teacher in Thessaly, he was called upon by the citizens to render local service, but he refused to do so. The city appealed its case to Emperor Caracalla at Rome. In the meantime Philiscus hurried to Rome, befriended Julia, mother of the emperor, and got an appointment to the sophistic chair at Athens before his antagonists arrived. Caracalla, learning of the intrigue, was furious and summoned Philiscus to argue his own case. Everything about the teacher disgusted the emperor: style, effeminate voice, dress, mannerisms. The rhetorician lost his case; whereupon he reminded the emperor that he was immuned from civil service. Caracalla scorned such immunity, shouting that hereafter "a few paltry declamations" would keep no one from rendering civil service. Later he reinstated Philiscus' immunity. His style, colloquial and clear, suggested a cultured Grecian.

RWS

PHILO of Larissa (Thessaly). A 1st-century (B.C.) rhetorician-philosopher who headed the Athenian Academy but later (after the Mithridatic Wars) established a school of rhetoric and philosophy in Rome where Cicero studied under him. He seems to have (1) instructed in both rhetoric and philosophy, but gained the greater reputation in the latter discipline; and (2) wanted to revive Platonic doctrines.

RWS

PHILODEMUS. Lived ca. 110-ca. 35 B.C. Epigrammatist of the Greek Anthology and philosopher, he was born in Gadara in Syria. At Athens he became the avid pupil of Zeno of Sidon, the Epicurean philosopher. Sometime in the seventies he moved to Italy, where he met L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonius and became his constant companion. At Herculaneum, the location of Piso's estates, Philodemus with another eminent Epicurean, Siro, presided over a distinguished circle of young Romans which included Vergil and Horace.

The rhetorical writings of Philodemus, which encompass a third of his extant prose works, are significant as the sole treatises on the subject from the Epicurean school. Though the latter was opposed to rhetoric, Philodemus indicates that his teacher, Zeno, had much to say on the subject. The *Rhetorica*, however, is not a systematic technology; instead, it displays its unique position through polemics against other schools. What can be deduced is that Philodemus, following Zeno, acknowledged as an art only one of the three divisions of rhetoric—epideictic, which he called sophistic. Sophistic alone is concerned with rules and principles, while judicial and deliberative oratory depend primarily on the immediate situation, the experience of the speaker and his knowledge of history. These remarks lead to Philodemus' position in the prolonged quarrel between rhetoric and philosophy in which he decided in favor of the latter; the statesman, according to him, received no assistance from rhetorical theory.

In addition to rhetoric Philodemus wrote on a wide range of philosophical topics. In his theory of poetics he reflects the tendencies of the Alexandrian age by advocating that no restrictions be placed on the poet's selection of content and by removing as criteria originality and morality. Philodemus' poems, which are elegantly licentious, faithfully adhere to his theoretical convictions.

GOR

PHOENIX the Thessalian. A 2nd-century (A.D.) teacher of mediocre ability who studied under Philargus of Cilicia. Philostratus, our only source, tells us he was not eloquent, but did display ability in invention. His style was disjointed in rhythm.

RWS

PLATO. Lived 428-348 B.C. Influenced by Socrates in his youth, he believed that his highest duty was the contemplation of truth, a contemplation which was to be interrupted only by a period of service, in his middle age, as a statesman. He was from a family of public men, and might have attempted to carry out his tradition of public life if his disillusionment with the democracy that put Socrates to death had not led him to abandon any aspirations as a social and legislative reformer. This experience, with his political failure in Syracuse, led to his conviction that "either the true and genuine philosophers must find their way to political authority, or powerful politicians by the favor of Providence take to true philosophy."

Plato's chief contemporary influence came as founder of the Academy, where he was in competition with such schools of rhetorical statesmanship as that conducted by Isocrates. The generally prevalent training for public life, Plato believed, was concerned with probabilities and opinion, which had no roots in real philosophy or science. Although his belief was effectively dealt with by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*, it recurs again and again in discussions, especially academic discussions, of public address in the body politic. Plato distrusted all persons who accepted Athenian life and institutions and participated in public affairs. The politics, poetry, art, education, and religion of Athens, he thought, were so wrong that it was easier to paint the utopia of his *Republic* than to attempt to reform Athens. Plato's condemnation of rhetoric and rhetoricians, then, is part of his indictment of all contemporary civilization.

In the *Gorgias*, Plato establishes through Socrates the reigning definition of rhetoric as the art of persuading an ignorant multitude about the justice or injustice of a matter without imparting any real instruction. In the second part of the dialogue Socrates makes his victim, Polus, admit that rhetoric is not a good in society, for: (a) it is not an art resting on universal principles, but only a knack or routine; (b) it does not really confer power, for the rhetorician is not enough of a philosopher to know what is really good for him; (c) it is not important as a protection against suffering wrong, for the really important thing is to keep from doing wrong; (d) as a means of escaping a deserved punishment, it is not to be commended.

Toward the end of the dialogue Socrates admits to Callicles that there might be a noble rhetoric and true rhetorician, but neither has yet existed.

The *Phaedrus*, a dramatized treatise on rhetoric, expresses Plato's later ideas in a critical discussion of three speeches on love. In it he outlines the requisites for the organization of rhetoric into a scientific body of knowledge:

1. The rhetorician must know the truth of what he is going to say, even if he does not tell it. He must be a philosopher.
2. The rhetorician must define his terms. He must be a logician.

3. Order and arrangement must prevail so that every speech will have a beginning, middle and end.

4. The nature of souls must be understood, so that the rhetorician will know what souls will be persuaded by what arguments. He must therefore be a psychologist.

5. The rhetorician must "speak of the instruments by which the soul is affected in any way." That is, he must have technical mastery of style and delivery. But this will best come by lofty contemplation of nature.

6. The art of writing is not important because uninterrupted discourse is never as effective as dialogue.

7. The rhetorician will have such a high moral purpose in all his work that he will always be concerned to say "what is acceptable to God."

The Socratic-Platonic hostility toward men who address the masses and toward the art (or talent) which these men exploit, and the willingness to rely on the discourse of reason embodied in the practice of dialectic for the conduct of human affairs, have found ready adherents at many critical points in Western civilization.

For interesting and divergent discussions of Plato's rhetoric see Edwin Black, "Plato's View of Rhetoric," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIV (1958), 361-374; Oscar Brownstein, "Plato's *Phaedrus*: Dialectic as the Genuine Art of Speaking," *QJS*, LI (1965), 392-398; Everett L. Hunt, "Plato and Aristotle on Rhetoric and Rhetoricians," in *Historical Studies of Rhetoric and Rhetoricians* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1961), pp. 19-70; and Richard Weaver, "The *Phaedrus* and the Nature of Rhetoric," in *The Ethics of Rhetoric* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1953), pp. 3-26.

ELH

PLINIUS SECUNDUS, C. (Pliny the Elder). Lived 23-79 A.D. Was born in Comum but went to study and later teach in Rome where he became known as a hard-worker and quick-witted pleader. While he seems never to have taught rhetoric, he did write *Studiosus* (in three books), a detailed rhetorical work (not extant), taking the orator from the cradle to the highest point in the art of public discourse. Quintilian thought such instructions as Pliny's on how to wipe the brow with a handkerchief without ruffling the hair, and kindred topics, too pedantic; yet Quintilian did rate the book above

many other first-century works. Aulus Gellius thought Pliny the most learned man of his time. He died in the eruption of Vesuvius.

RWS

PLUTARCH of Chaeronea. Lived ca. 46-125 A.D. A famous biographer, some of his philosophical writings (*Moralia*) exhibit rhetorical patterns current in the post-Aristotelian period (e.g. *On Exile*); others discuss rhetorical topics from a moral point of view (e.g. *On Praising Oneself Inoffensively*).

PDL

PLUTION. A little known 1st-century (B.C.-A.D.) Greek teacher of rhetoric and imitator of Glycon. Seneca gives an excerpt from his declamation on Alexander deliberating on crossing the ocean to conquer new lands. His style seems to have been Asianic though on the whole unaffected.

RWS

POLEMON, ANTONIUS. Lived ca. 88-144 A.D. Born in Laodicea, he attended the school of Scopelianus where an Asian style of oratory was taught. Another teacher was the stoicizing rhetorician Timocrates of Heraclea, whose teaching on physiognomy exercised a profound influence on his pupil. Polemon succeeded Scopelianus as the head of the school at Smyrna, and the brilliance of his eloquence not only attracted great numbers of students but also won for him a prominent role in the political activity of the city. He served as ambassador to Rome, where he enjoyed the patronage of the emperors Trajan, Hadrian (with whom he was especially on intimate terms), and Antoninus Pius.

Polemon was one of the chief luminaries of the Second Sophistic period. Although he adopted the Asian style of oratory, he was free from its worst excesses. As a result of Timocrates' influence he emphasized the importance of the orator's physical appearance. To Polemon natural talent and practice were more important than theory, and his instruction concentrated mainly on student exercises. Of the many speeches attributed to him only two declamations are extant.

GOR

POLUS of Agrigentum. Greek sophist and teacher of rhetoric, 5th-4th centuries B.C., writer of a treatise which may have influenced Plato's *Gorgias*.

PDA

POLUS of Sunium (or of Aegina). Greek tragic actor of the late 5th or 4th century B.C., one of several reputed to have instructed Demosthenes in rhetoric. See also **ANDRONICUS**, **NEOPTOLEMUS**, **SATYRUS**.
FDA

POLYCRATES. Lived ca. 445-370 B.C. An Athenian orator and teacher of rhetoric who flourished at the end of the fifth century B.C. He is important mainly for a "show piece" oration against Socrates which is no longer extant, although it is referred to in the works of Xenophon and Isocrates. Other titles attributed to him are *Busiris*, *Helen*, and a number of sophistic *Encomia* on trivial subjects.
GOR

POPILIUS LAENAS. A 1st-century (B.C.-A.D.) author of an *Ars Rhetorica* which Quintilian thought commendable in part, but whose admonition to write out notes extensively for use during delivery (thus reforming and cramping style) he disliked.
RWS

PORPHYRIUS MALCUS. Lived ca. 233-305 A.D. He grew up in Tyre of a respected family. He studied under Longinus at Athens and heard Minucianus there as well, in addition to sitting at the feet of Origen, probably when the latter had fled to Caesarea from Alexandria. At age twenty he went to Rome where he listened to Plotinus lecture on philosophy. Porphyrius never "took" to rhetoric, preferring philosophy instead, but did write a book on *status* which Syrianus knew, as well as a collection of rhetorical problems. Seventy-seven titles of works on various topics have come down to us.
RWS

POSEIDONIUS of Apamea. Lived ca. 135-ca. 51 B.C. A famous Greek philosopher of Cicero's era who displayed a lively interest in rhetoric, particularly where Stoic philosophy was concerned. He wrote *An Elementary Treatise on Style* and a work on *status* which he divided into two classes—*status* concerned with words and *status* concerned with things. A polemic against the rhetorician Hermagoras probably dealt with the boundaries of rhetoric and philosophy.
GOR

POTAMON of Mytilene. Lived ca. 75 B.C.-15 A.D. The son of Lesbos, he probably had a school of rhetoric before setting out on embassies to Rome in 47, 45, and 25 B.C.

Seneca upbraids him for continuing to teach after his son's death, whereas Potamon's rival, Lesbocles, closed down his school when his own son died. In Rome he rivaled Theodorus of Gadara and Antipater with whom in 33 B.C. he seems to have had a rhetorical contest from which Theodorus emerged victorious. Whether he actually taught the future Emperor Tiberius or not, he at least was on good terms with him. His work on the perfect orator, now lost, was the Greek counterpart to Cicero's *Orator*.
RWS

PRINCEPS. A little known 1st-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric and grammar perhaps heard by Suetonius. He sometimes taught in the forenoon and declaimed in the afternoon.
RWS

PRISCUS. Fl. under Theodosius II in 5th century A.D. A Thracian declaimer and sophist, he wrote declamations and on rhetoric, though the latter was not an *Art* in the strict sense of the word. He accompanied Maximus to Egypt in 452/53, though for what purpose we do not know.
RWS

PROCLUS of Naucratis. A 2nd-3rd-century (A.D.) teacher who emigrated from strife-torn Egypt to Athens where he spent the rest of his life. Here he studied under Adrian and imitated him as well as Hippias and Gorgias. He seems to have taught few students, but among them was Philostratus. An importer of books, papyri, and incense from Egypt, he became well-to-do, possessing several houses in and around Athens, but the mistress with whom he cohabited after his wife's death proved a poor manager of his personal household. His personal library was at the disposal of his students who were charged 100 drachmae to attend his lectures. His unusual memory stayed with him even in old age. He died at about age ninety.
RWS

PROCOPIUS of Gaza. Lived ca. 465-526 A.D. The most significant teacher of the Christian, sophistic school in Gaza. After completing his education in Alexandria, Procopius returned to teach at Gaza where he won the respect of the community and a large following of students. His writings fall into five categories: (1) *Homeric Metaphrases* (non-ex-

tant), in which common places are cast in Homeric expression; (2) ceremonial addresses, of which only a few titles have survived; (3) eight *Ecphrases*, verbal descriptions of situations or objects, which are poorly preserved; (4) 163 letters attributed to Procopius; (5) theological writings, including a polemic against Proclus and Biblical commentaries in which Procopius compiled the comments of earlier church fathers in a systematic manner. In style Procopius was a purist; he stressed proper use of words, precision of expression, rhythm, and the avoidance of hiatus. COR

PRODICUS of Ceos. Greek orator, sophist, and contemporary of Socrates, he asked high fees for his courses of instruction, which seem to have been concerned mainly with the precise use of language. Both Aristophanes and Plato couple him with Socrates. PDA

PROHAERESIOS. Lived ca. 276-367 A.D. Born in Armenia, he became one of the few Christian rhetoricians before 350 in Athens where he had gone to study under Ulpian and Julian the Cappadocian, the latter one of the most famous of Athenian rhetorical teachers. Later and for some years he was a supplementary teacher, but upon Julian's death (ca. 340) he succeeded him to the chair of rhetoric, occupying it until his death in 367. As an instructor, he attracted students far and wide to his school, some coming from Egypt and Libya. He trained a number of rhetoricians—Himerius, his student, rivalled him—in addition to (perhaps) Julian the Emperor, and the two Cappadocians, Gregory Nazianus and Basil the Great. Although Julian Apostate's edict (362) forbidding Christians teaching Greek literature expressly exempted him, he refused the homage and retired from school. Later, after the annulment of the law, he returned.

None of his speeches remains, but Eunapius tells us he favored the impromptu type of speaking; perhaps his extraordinary memory was the reason. TO

PROTAGORAS of Abdera. Lived ca. 485-ca. 415 B.C. One of the earliest and most eminent members of the Greek sophistic movement in the fifth century. He was especially celebrated for practicing and teaching the rhetorical art. His students were required to debate set theses, an exercise

which eventually became a standard part of rhetorical training. Protagoras believed that skill, rather than righteousness, was the decisive factor in winning one's case; and his treatises on dialectic and eristic were designed to make the weaker case prevail.

GOR

QUINTILIANUS, M. FABIVS. Lived ca. 35-95 A.D. The most important Roman rhetorical theorist after Cicero, he was born in Calagurris, Spain, and studied there at his father's knee before emigrating to Rome. In the latter city he continued his study under Domitius Afer, then spent the remainder of his professional career as a teacher, theorist, and holder of the first endowed chair of rhetoric in the Roman empire. He served in all these capacities with distinction, more so than in that of advocate which occupied his time for a few years. As the incumbent of the imperial chair, he authored the *Institutio Oratoria* (*Education of an Orator*), publishing it ca. 93, after two years labor on it. The work, in twelve books, has come down to us in its entirety and treats the five canons of rhetoric in great detail: Book I is a preliminary study of the subject, including principles of education; II treats oratory, its nature and aims; III-VII deal chiefly with invention and disposition; VIII-X with style; XI with memory and delivery; and XII with requisites for the perfect orator (including the reiteration of Cato's dictum that the orator is the 'morally good man skilled in speaking'). The treatise, which is much more than a manual, being a whole theory of education for a lifetime, recognizes (among other things): (1) that education must start from infancy (with the right kind of home life) and continue at every stage throughout life; (2) the peerless rhetorical theory and practice of Cicero; (3) three kinds of oratory: epideictic, deliberative, and judicial; (4) the end of oratory is persuasion—not display, as some sophistic contemporaries would urge; (5) the preeminence of subject matter; (6) three kinds of style: plain (for teaching), grand (for stirring emotions), and middle (for delighting); (7) the superiority of Latin literature, as compared with Greek, for rhetorical training; and (8) the *status* as the most important single consideration in the speech.

Declamations, the popular mode of rhetorical instruction, receive much attention from Quintilian. He defends their

use in the classroom—he himself had declaimed as a lad—as not only sound in principle but refreshing in practice. He deploras, however, their contemporary abuse, with their contrived and far-fetched style.

As a teacher we must assume his classes were taught along lines outlined in the *Institutes* including the use of music for students. His classes were large and he was greatly loved by his pupils, among whom were the Younger Pliny, Pliny's friend, Naso, and perhaps Tacitus. He surely declaimed in class, even though the declamations which have come down attached to his name are spurious. RWS

QUIRINUS. A 2nd-century (A.D.) Nicomedian teacher of mediocre ability, but energetic disposition. He studied under Adrian and excelled later more as a legal pleader for the emperor than as a teacher. He died at age seventy and was buried in Nicomedia. RWS

RUFINUS. A 4th-century (A.D.) teacher of eloquence mentioned by Libanius. RWS

RUFINUS of Antioch. A 5th-century (A.D.) Latin author who wrote a work on the composition and meter of orators, still extant, the first part of which is in verse. While Quintilian is mentioned, Cicero figures prominently in it. RWS

RUFUS of Perinthus. A wealthy, 2nd-century (A.D.) declaimer and student of Herodes and Aristocles. The latter greatly esteemed his student, but Rufus took greater pride in Herodes, whom he considered the master of eloquence. Rufus' unimportant *Rhetoric* dealt only with disposition: it considered the introduction, narration, proof, and epilogue. His impromptu ability enabled him to excel in declamation. He died at the age of sixty-one. RWS

RUTILIUS, LUPUS P. A 1st-century (A.D.) editor of a rhetorical work on figures of speech which dates from Gorgias, a 1st-century (B.C.) Athenian rhetorical teacher. Quintilian knew the work well, cited it frequently, and respected it, but did not like the author's straining after technical terms. Lupus lists the figures in lexical form (but not alphabetized), then gives Latin translations from Greek orations. It is these

examples, otherwise largely lost in ancient literature, which make the work valuable to us. Among the figures mentioned are pun, transposition, distinction, transition, prolepsis, and characterizing. If the work was originally in four books, as Gorgias' was, only the first two, devoted to stylistic figures, have come down to us.

RWS

SABINUS. Fl. under Hadrian and hailed (perhaps) from Zeugma. He wrote an introduction and principles of declamatory materials, as well as commentaries on Greek authors.

RWS

SABINUS ASILIUS. A little known 1st-century (B.C.) rhetorician and contemporary of the orator Vallius Syriacus. Seneca calls Asilius one of the most charming of all the rhetors.

RWS

SATYRUS of Marathon (or of Olynthus). Greek comic actor of the 4th century B.C., one of several reputed to have instructed Demosthenes in rhetoric. See also **ANDRONICUS**, **NEOPTOLEMUS**, **POLUS**.

PDA

SCOPELIAN of Clazomenae. A 1st-2nd century (A.D.) rhetorician and poet who taught at Smyrna. He studied under and followed Nicetes Sacerdos and in turn taught Herodes Atticus. To his school flocked Ionians, Lydians, Carians, Maeonians, Aeolians, along with Hellenes from Mysia and Phrygia, all of whom paid fees according to their financial ability. As he thought undue seriousness was nearly equivalent to unsociability, his orations abounded in the humane. Philostratus, our only source, speaks of him with great respect.

RWS

SEDATUS of Toulouse. Of unknown date, but antecedent to Ausonius who writes of him. Though born in Bordeaux, he first taught abroad before returning to Toulouse where he met his future wife, later held the rhetorical chair, and became wealthy.

RWS

SENECA, M. ANNAEUS. Lived ca. 55 B.C.-38/39 A.D. "Seneca the Elder" was born at Corduba but later lived in Rome where he heard many of the important rhetorical teachers

and Republican orators. He was a classmate of Porcius Latro and probably studied under Marullus, but seems never to have taught in the classroom.

A literary critic of considerable ability, and a man of vast memory, he is important as a collector of excerpts of declamations and speeches, publishing them in his ten volume *Controversiae*, probably written ca. 34 A.D.; he also published a book of *Suasoriae*. Although there are gaps in our MSS, we know of 120 different orators and 42 themes in the two works. The *Suasoriae* are fictitious deliberative speeches in which the speaker gives advice to an historical or semi-historical character regarding his future conduct. The *Controversiae* are fictitious judicial or forensic speeches. While Seneca sees declamation as a good preparation for life, as did Quintilian, he conceives of it not as an end in itself. Like Tacitus two generations later, Seneca attributes the decline of eloquence to students' indolence, but also deplores the trend toward effeminacy.

RWS

SERAPION, AELIUS. Two rhetoricians of antiquity are known by this name, both active in the third century A.D. One of them is said to have educated the sons of the emperor Servus Alexander, and later (219 A.D.) to have come to Rome. Among his works were an *Art of Rhetoric* and *On Declamatory Errors*. About the other Serapion we read that he was a student of Plotinus.

RWS

SEXTUS CLODIUS. A 1st-century (B.C.) Sicilian teacher of rhetoric. Cicero disdained his rhetorical ability, perhaps because of Clodius' friendship with Marc Antony (whom Clodius taught) who, Cicero states, gave Clodius 2,000 acres of land in the Leontine district. To some, especially Cicero, Clodius was little more than a jokester giving humorous stories to Antony to mouth. Despite the Roman orator's lack of regard for him, Clodius probably excelled Cicero in his knowledge of Greek rhetoric which he taught along with Latin eloquence. Similarly, he declaimed in both languages. He is perhaps identical with Sabinus Clodius, versatile and talented speaker of Augustus' time.

RWS

SEXTUS EMPIRICUS. A Greek physician and philosopher of the late 2nd century A.D., who advocated Pyrrhonic scepticism. His polemical work *Against the Rhetoricians* is one of

a series in which he argues that human life is unable to transcend the world of appearances and that theoretical knowledge is unattainable. He thus denies to rhetoric (as to all other arts and sciences) any claim to universal principles or systematic doctrine.

PDL

SILUS, C. ALBUCIUS. Orator and teacher of rhetoric in the Augustan era. Born in Novaria where he also served as aedil, he was treated on one occasion so badly as judge that he quit and went to Rome where he was befriended by the orator Plancus. Soon thereafter he opened a school of rhetoric in the Eternal City. He was a student of the orator Julius Bassus and moved in the literary circle of Latro, Fuscus, and Gallio. Although he was a pleader of only mediocre ability, he excelled as a declaimer. In his school he declaimed on a variety of topics and once spoke for six hours on a particularly challenging one. Seneca the Elder, a contemporary, includes an excerpt of one declamation in which Albucius urges Alexander not to sail the seas to conquer new lands.

We know little of his rhetorical theory, but Quintilian thought that he unduly restricted rhetoric. Like Quintilian a century later, Albucius held that rhetoric was the science of speaking well, but he imposed the added limitations of speaking well and credibly on political questions. Of the five canons of rhetoric he recognized but three, omitting *memoria* and *actio* on grounds that they were gifts of nature and not fruits of an art. He wrote on *status*, but Quintilian's account of his work is not clear.

RWS

SIRICIOUS of Neapolis (Palestine). A little known 4th-century (A.D.) rhetorician who taught in Athens in the time of Constantine I, he was a disciple of Andromachus and wrote progymnasmata and declamations.

RWS

SOPATER. Student, author, and teacher of rhetoric in Athens, probably sometime between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D., though conceivably the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. Nothing is known of him as a teacher, but his works suggest he was in the mainstream of the Second Sophistic. He wrote a commentary, dealing with invention and figures of speech, to Hermogenes' *On Status*. Sopater's treatise on the division of the question suggested 81 themes for declamation. His *Prolegomena* to Aristides was unimportant.

RWS

SOPOLIS. A rhetorician at Athens at the death of Julian the Cappadocian in 340 A.D. According to Eunapius who heard him, he was the least competent of all those appointed, though he did work hard to attain rhetorical heights. He was still teaching there when Eunapius arrived in 362. His son Apsines was also a rhetorician. TO

STAPHYLUS of Auch (Auscii). A 4th-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric and grammar in Bordeaux. Ausonius, his student, saw him as one gentle in spirit, distinguished in appearance, and widely read in every branch of learning. RWS

SULPICIUS VICTOR. A 4th-century (A.D.) jurist and rhetorical theorist whose *Institutiones Oratoriae* defines rhetoric, like the *Ars Rhetorica* of Fortunatianus, as "*bene dicendi scientia in quaestione civili*." Unlike Fortunatianus, he recognizes only four (*inventio, dispositio, elocutio, and pronuntiatio*) of the five canons. He sees six parts of a speech, though he discusses only five (exordium, narration, partition, argumentation—composed of confirmation and refutation—and peroration), and two encompassing groups of *status*: rational (conjectural, explanatory, qualitative, and translatable) and legal (letter and spirit of law, contrary laws, inference from the laws, and ambiguity of laws). RWS

SYRIANUS. Primarily a Greek philosopher of the Second Sophistic who wrote an able commentary to Hermogenes' *On Status*. RWS

TACITUS, PUBLIUS CORNELIUS. A distinguished Roman orator and historian who lived ca. 55-ca. 120 A.D. Though not a rhetorician by profession, Tacitus is important to the history of ancient rhetoric for his *Dialogue on Orators*, an inquiry into the position of eloquence during the author's time. The *Dialogue* takes place about 71-75 A.D., and the four interlocutors are Curatius Maternus, an orator who has just abandoned the courts to devote himself to writing poetry; Marcus Aper, a successful orator of the day; Julius Secundus, another prominent orator, whose views, however, have largely disappeared with a lacuna in the text; and Vipsanius Messala, a vigorous supporter of the eloquence of the past. Although a variety of topics finds its way into the

discussion, two main themes prevail. The first is the relative importance of poetry and oratory, in which the former is defended by Maternus against the attacks of Aper. The second theme compares the early orators of the Republic, defended by Messala, with those of the present, who are upheld by Aper. Despite the protestations of Aper, there is general agreement that oratory has declined in both importance and quality because of loss of liberty, decadence of morals, inferior instruction, and other influences. Yet, a return to the conditions which fostered great eloquence is regarded as neither possible nor desirable.

GOR

TATIAN the Syrian. Lived ca. 130-78 B.C. An unheralded teacher of rhetoric, follower of the Christian apologist Justin Martyr and famed debater (in theological controversies of the day), his many works included none on rhetoric.

RWS

THEMISTIUS EUPHRADES. Lived ca. 310/20-390 A.D. Born in Paphlagonia, he lived in Rome briefly, and opened his rhetorical school (ca. 345) in Constantinople where he lived for many years and was the official state orator. He studied rhetoric under an unknown preceptor in Pontus (near Phasis) and later taught Celsus of Antioch and Arcadius, son of the Christian emperor Theodosius I (379-92), although he himself was a pagan. He appears to have been a successful teacher, though accused of hiring students to attend his classes, an act he vehemently denied. He was made prefect of the eastern capital in 384, but earlier had declined appointment to Rome and Antioch. Thirty-three speeches in Greek and one in Latin have come down to us.

RWS

THEODECTES. Greek playwright, orator, and writer on rhetorical subjects of the 4th century B.C. We know of his studies only through references by others—Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian; but he seems to have discussed, among other topics, the importance of prose rhythm and the objectives of the five parts of the speech.

PDA

THEODROUS of Byzantium. A rhetorician whose activity was somewhat contemporaneous with Plato and Lysias. His main contribution to rhetorical theory was an elaborate division of the judicial speech, although this did not have lasting

effect. He devoted much attention to style, adopting several of the poetical effects of Thrasymachus and Gorgias and seeking out effects by which to hold the attention of his audience. A *Techne* and two speeches, *Against Andocides* and *Against Thrasybulus*, were attributed to him, although none of these is extant.

GOR

THEODORUS of Gadara. A 1st-century (B.C.) rhetorician and tutor of the Emperor Tiberius, he wrote on grammar, rhetoric, and historical subjects. His own works have been lost, but the school that he founded, devotees of the Attic style, included the writer of the anonymous *Peri Hypsous*.

PDA

THEODOTUS. A 2nd-century (A.D.) Athenian teacher of rhetoric. He studied under Lollianus of Ephesus, but attended the lectures also of Herodes Atticus, later rivalling them both. Friend of Caracalla, he was appointed to the rhetorical chair in Athens—the second established in the city—and was the first to receive the salary of 10,000 drachmae from the emperor. Though he was competent in both forensic and epideictic oratory, Philostratus had few kind words for him as either a man or teacher. Adrian of Tyre replaced him when Theodotus died after holding the chair for only two years.

RWS

THEODOTUS of Chios. A 1st-century (B.C.) rhetorician who taught the youthful king, Ptolemy XIV. About his rhetorical training and profession we know little. He was put to death (43 B.C.) by M. Brutus who found him in Asia. Appian places his home in Samos, not Chios.

RWS

THEON. A little esteemed 5th-6th century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric in Alexandria, not to be confused with his first century namesake. He studied under his father Ecdicius and later taught Damascius the Syrian. A prodigious student of the ancient orators and poets, he authored a book on rhetoric, but was an ineffective practitioner of the spoken word.

RWS

THEON, AELIUS of Alexandria. Though of uncertain date, it is believed he lived during the late 1st and early 2nd century A.D. While there is no evidence that he taught in the

classroom, he wrote several rhetorical works, including a three volume *Art of Rhetoric*, not extant, in which he recognized four *status*. His three commentaries on Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Xenophon perhaps suggest his recognition of three kinds of style: grand, middle, and plain. Most important, however, was his work *On Progymnasmata*, the greater part of which is extant. It recommends for training the young orator fifteen exercises, including fables, storytelling, maxims, personification, comparisons, affirmation. As the earliest surviving textbook to guide school boys in composing their speeches during the Second Sophistic, the work laments the abandonment of philosophy by students of rhetoric, when formerly it had been studied before rhetoric. The work was replaced by that of Aphthonius and rivalled that of Hermogenes.

RWS

THEOPHRASTUS. Lived ca. 371-ca. 287 B.C. Aristotle's distinguished pupil and successor, maintained and developed many of his teacher's ideas on rhetoric. He recognized the close relationship of rhetoric and poetic with their personal and subjective approach in contrast to philosophy's concern to be objective and factual. Only sparse fragments of T.'s rhetorical writings have survived, although their influence in antiquity was considerable. Among the titles attributed to him are *Theses*, *On Sentences*, *On the Laughable*, *On Slander*, *On Inartificial Proofs*, *On Enthymemes*, *On Epicheiremes*, *On the Institution of Legal Proceedings*, *On Paradoxa*, *On Prooemia*, *On Proposition and Narration*, *On Judicial Speeches*, and *On Style*. The last title was probably T.'s most important and influential work. It provided the basis for most of Cicero's remarks on prose rhythm, and it introduced into rhetorical theory the doctrine of the four "virtues" of speaking. His surviving work, the celebrated *Characters*, closely related to ethical doctrines in both poetic and rhetoric, gave rise to one of the popular literary genres in Western literature.

GOR

THEOPOMPUS. B. 376 B.C. A pupil of Isocrates whose style he adopted as an orator and later as an historian, although he far exceeded Isocrates in the bitterness of his invective. Like his teacher, Theopompus was primarily an epideictic orator. He delivered panegyrics in all the major cities of Greece. None of his orations have survived.

GOR

THERAMENES of Ceos. Of unknown time and background but prior, surely, to the 5th century A.D. Among his rhetorical works were three books on declamations and a general work on rhetorical figures. RWS

THESPESIUS. A 4th-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric who lived as a sophist and orator in Caesarea (Palestine) and who taught Gregory of Nazianzus and Euzoius, the Arian Bishop of Caesarea. Perhaps he was an effective teacher, for Jerome calls Nazianzus a "very eloquent man." No works have come down to us. RWS

THRASYMACHUS of Chalcedon. Greek sophist and rhetorician of the 5th century B.C., best known from his appearance in Plato's *Republic*. His prose style paid close attention to rhythm and to periodic structure; in his oratory he relied largely on "action" and emotional appeal. FDA

TIBERIUS. Of unknown time but probably 3rd century A.D. He wrote works on rhetoric, grammar, and a commentary on Demosthenes, Thucydides, and others. In his work on the figures of Demosthenes, he deals with what is usually found in the sophistic manuals: feigned appearances, censure, diaporesis, apostrophe, aposiopesis, delineation of character, antithesis, impromptu remarks, etc. Suidas further credits him with books on the preparation of the speaker, on orderliness and arrangement in the speech, on the divisions of speech, a fourth on epideictic speeches, another on the epicheireme, and finally a combined work on Demosthenes and Xenophon. RWS

TIBERIUS VICTOR MINERVIUS. A mid-4th-century A.D. rhetorician from Bordeaux who taught successively in Constantinople, Rome, and finally Gaul. He numbered among his pupils Ausonius, his biographer and our chief source, and the famous orator Symmachus. The former called his teacher the "second Quintilian of the rhetorical toga." His teaching converted, if we are to believe Ausonius, Constantinople and Bordeaux into other "Romes." He prepared perhaps hundreds of pupils for the courts and even more for the Senate and some for the purple. His speaking was able, his memory superior, and his disposition kindly. RWS

TIMAGENES of Alexandria. Fl. 1st century B.C. He taught rhetoric at Rome (where he journeyed from Alexandria) in the time of M. Antonius Gniphio, Pompey, and Augustus. A close friendship developed with the emperor, but Timagenes' sharp tongue ultimately brought an end to it, causing his books to be burned, and him to flee to Tusculum. Horace saw his ambition as bringing about his downfall. Whether he can be identified with the historian and Syrian by the same name is debatable.

RWS

TIMOCRATES. A 1st-century (B.C.) teacher of rhetoric at Mytilene who taught Lesbos. A wise man, he was said to be sublime in thought and language.

RWS

TISIAS. See entry under **CORAX**.

EBH

TROILUS. A teacher of Asianic rhetoric in the 5th century A.D. in Constantinople, but a native of Side (Pamphylia). Among his outstanding students were Socrates Scholasticus, Eusebius Scholasticus, and Silvanus and Albius (the latter two were later bishops), but we do not know if he was a Christian or pagan. He wrote political speeches and an introduction to Hermogenes' rhetoric. He served as political advisor to Anthemius, regent to Theodosius (The Younger).

RWS

TROPHONIUS. A 6th-century (A.D.) Christian sophist who wrote a prolegomenon to rhetoric in which he asks four questions: is there a rhetoric? what is it, if there is? what is its nature? and what is its purpose? He answers the questions with subtle Aristotelian logic which he learned from commentaries.

RWS

TUTILIUS. A 1st-century (A.D.) contemporary of Quintilian, who married Tutilius' daughter, and an author of a work on rhetoric which the famous son-in-law respected, though he felt it had not gone far enough. As a speaker he was not admired, at least by the poet Martial (V.56), though conceivably this is not the same Tutilius.

RWS

ULPIAN of Ascalon (Palestine). A 4th-century (A.D.) teacher of sophistic rhetoric at Antioch and scholiast on Demosthenes. He wrote several rhetorical works, among

which was an *Art*. The preceptor of Prohaeresius, the jurist Macedonius, and possibly of Libanius, he was the forerunner of Zenobius and Libanius in Antiochean rhetorical circles. Of those works mentioned in Suidas we know nothing. He died 330.

RWS

VALERIUS LICINIANUS, L. A 1st-century (A.D.) native of Bilbilis who taught rhetoric and declaimed in Sicily after Domitian exiled him (ca. 91) for his probable guilt of incest with Cornelia, chief of the vestal virgins. Prior to his emigration, he was an eloquent pleader in the Roman courts, admired by many, including Martial. Nothing is known of him as a teacher.

RWS

VALERIUS MAXIMUS. Very little is known about his life—only the few things he himself tells us in his work *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*. About 27 A.D. he accompanied his friend Sextus Pompeius, former consul, to his governorship in Asia. Some time after his return, probably in 31 after the fall of Sejanus whom he strongly condemns, Valerius' work appeared. He tells us he was poor but received much help from his wealthy friend and patron, Pompeius. It is generally accepted that he was a teacher of rhetoric, a conclusion drawn from the nature of his writing.

In the Introduction of his work, before launching into inordinate praise of the emperor, Tiberius, he states as the purpose of the work the gathering together in one place of historical events and stories, both of Rome and foreign countries, in order to save those who wish to make use of them the task of searching through the numerous works in which these stories appear. Valerius' book is thus a collection of *exempla*, meant to serve as a handy reference work for declaimers who desired historical anecdotes and stories, illustrating human virtues and vices, with which to adorn their speeches.

Critics of Valerius Maximus usually deplore his style as bombastic, sententious, dull, sometimes obscure, and excessively embellished with metaphors and rhetorical effects, and consider his historical accuracy and fidelity to his sources (Cicero, Livy, Varro and others) questionable. The charge of historical inaccuracy may be answered partially by emphasizing the purpose of the work, which is certainly not that

of a historian but of a rhetorician. As to fidelity to sources, he sometimes quotes them word-for-word. In other instances, however, he yields to his rhetorical instinct and decks them out with rhetorical embellishments. He attempts always to make his work more than just a collection of anecdotes by transitions from one topic to another, sometimes ingenious, sometimes forced. His style, deplorable though it may be, shows the influence of the rhetorical schools of the day, as his Latin reflects the literary language of the time.

His work, despite its shortcomings, enjoyed popularity through antiquity, Middle Ages, and Renaissance. Pliny, Aulus Gellius, Plutarch, Lactantius, and Petrarch all used it. There were two epitomes of the work in the 4th century—that of Januarius Nepotianus, and that of Julius Paris, who tried to make it still more serviceable for school use by deleting some of Valerius' rhetorical embellishment. The more than six hundred manuscripts of the work certainly attest to its continued vogue as a school book. It may not be a great work of literature, and its author may be largely unknown today, but it apparently served well the purpose for which the author published it.

DEG

VARUS of Laodicea. A 2nd-century (A.D.) contemporary of Polemon, and probably a teacher of rhetoric who seems to have been vain and fatuous. Philostratus by his own time says it was a disgrace for a student to admit he studied with Varus. His style seems to have been an Asianic "singsong."

RWS

VERGINIUS FLAVUS. Fl. 1st century A.D., in the reign of Claudius, 41-54. A teacher of rhetoric whom Quintilian knew and respected, he was probably born in Rome where he successfully taught for some years and where he had a large following. Among his pupils was A. Persius Flaccus, the satirist. He seems to have written a treatise on rhetoric, but it has perished. Quintilian (1) accused him of misinterpreting Theodorus of Gadara's conception of the function of the exordium; (2) indicted him for coining odd and new Latin words; (3) said Flavus once asked a pacing rival professor how many miles he had declaimed; and (4) praised him for treating rhetorical theory more accurately than did many of Flavus' contemporaries. He recognized three *status*: conjectural, legal, and juridical.

RWS

VETTIUS. A rhetorician who probably lived in the latter part of the 1st century A.D. during the reign of Domitian. He taught declamation at Rome where he proved himself especially adept at handling those themes dealing with the death of tyrants.

RWS

VICTOR, G. JULIUS. Fl. 4th century A.D. He wrote an *Ars Rhetorica* on which Alcuin heavily leaned for his treatment of the four canons other than *inventio*, despite Victor's thorough treatment of the first canon. Victor in turn borrowed heavily from Cicero, particularly the *de Oratore* and *Orator*, and Quintilian. He dealt with *stases* (four rational and four legal), the enthymeme, refutation, and the other four canons, but severely limited memory to a single paragraph. We have no knowledge of his teaching in the classroom.

RWS

VISELLIUS. Rhetor of Julio-Claudian era, perhaps identical with the freedman of C. Visellius Varro, whom Cicero knew. He wrote an entire book on figures and was thought by Quintilian to be a careful writer.

RWS

VOLCACIUS MOSCHUS. D. 25 A.D. He taught rhetoric at Rome and Marseilles. Born at Pergamum where he later studied under Apollodorus in 26 B.C., he migrated to Rome where he opened a school of rhetoric; after his banishment from Rome he journeyed to Marseilles, where he was made an honorary citizen and opened a second school. Seneca includes an excerpt of a Moschan declamation dissuading Alexander from crossing the Ocean. In the school exercises he seems to have been preoccupied with rhetorical figures. When he died he left all his money to Marseilles, his adopted home.

RWS

VOLTACILIUS PILUTUS, L. Fl. 1st century B.C. He opened a school of rhetoric in Rome ca. 88 B.C., during the time of Rubellius Blandus, and just four years after the Censors expelled rhetoricians from the city. He was reputedly a former slave, freed later because of his talent. He taught rhetoric to Pompey the Great and wrote a history of the exploits of Pompey's father.

RWS

XENOCLES of Adramyttium. A 1st-century (B.C.) teacher who taught rhetoric to Cicero in the province of Asia; Cicero considered him one of the most important rhetoricians in 1st-century Asia Minor.

RWS

ZENO of Cyprus. A 4th-century (A.D.) teacher of rhetoric and medicine, and a contemporary of Prohaeresius. He had famous pupils in both disciplines, among whom were Orisbasius, Ionicus of Sardis, and Magnus of Nisibis. If he is identical with Zeno of Citium, he wrote a work on *status*, another on figures, as well as notes on Xenophon, Lysias, and Demosthenes.

RWS

ZENOBIUS. D. 354 A.D. He taught rhetoric at Antioch where he seems to have headed a school of rhetors. In late years Antioch presented him with a country villa from which he derived income to supplement his modest salary. When he died, Libanius, his former pupil, pleaded with the city council similarly to compensate other sophists of the town. The result is unknown. Shortly before his death, he was imprisoned because he and others expressed too freely opposition to the emperor's efforts at price regulation. Libanius' intercessions perhaps brought about their quick release.

RWS

ZOILUS. A boorish 4th-century (B.C.) theorist who studied under Polycrates and in turn taught Anaximenes. His rhetorical works Demosthenes read. His restriction of the meaning of *schema* to a phrase in which the apparent or first meaning differs from the real meaning Quintilian thought too rigid. He attacked Isocrates but especially Homer, filling nine books with criticism of the ancient Greek epic poet.

RWS

ZOPYRUS of Clazomenae. A 3rd-century (B.C.) contemporary of Timon, orator and rhetorical theorist who may have been responsible for introducing the concept of *status* into rhetoric.

RWS

ZOSIMUS of Gaza. A 5th-6th-century (A.D.) theorist and commentator on Lysias and Demosthenes who perhaps was born in Ascalon (Palestine). He studied under Procopius, and his work on rhetorical style was used by Suidas.

RWS